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THE  
HISTORY



EDWARD E. BOURNE, M.D.

Physician.

*E. E. Bourne.*

PORTLAND.

W. THURDAY & COMPANY

1890





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
WELLS AND KENNEBUNK  
MAINE  
FROM THE

EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1820, AT WHICH TIME  
KENNEBUNK WAS SET OFF, AND INCORPORATED.

WITH  
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

BY  
EDWARD E. BOURNE, LL. D.

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PORTLAND:  
B. THURSTON & COMPANY.  
1875.

THE

# HISTORY

OF

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

BY

EDWARD E. BOUTWELL, LL. D.

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PORTLAND:

A. THORNTON & COMPANY

1875



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## PREFACE.

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It is well known to our townsmen, that my father was engaged, the last ten years of his life, in preparing a history of Wells and Kennebunk. I had hoped that his life would be spared until he could complete it. Admonished by the evident progress of the disease, which, on the twenty-third day of September last, terminated his labors, I several times suggested to him the expediency of bringing it to a close, that it might be published under his personal supervision. But his reply has always been, "I cannot; additional facts are constantly coming to light."

I have sometimes thought that it was his intention to devote all his remaining years to investigation, leaving the mere publication to others, feeling that by continuing his researches in the various paths in which by long-continued study he had become familiar, he could best serve the interests of those for whom he labored.

It was with him, emphatically, a labor of love; never expecting to receive any other remuneration for his toil than such as comes from the consciousness of labor faithfully performed for the benefit of others; traveling from one part of the town to another, into adjacent places, and even into other States, wherever he could hear of an aged person whose memory might supply some fact or elucidate a doubt; examining ancient records and documents, feeling amply rewarded if a single fact was elicited, he has worked steadily on, un-





willing to lay aside his pen so long as anything of interest could be added.

During his last hours, only the night before his death, in an interval of comparative ease, he called my attention to minutes of certain facts that had recently come to his knowledge, and desired me to insert them in their proper connection. I have endeavored to do so, simply following out his directions.

Conscious of my own limited knowledge of these matters, and relying upon his well-known accuracy in historical research, I have not assumed to investigate any of the facts and incidents related; but, in reviewing the work preparatory to publication, have confined myself to such verbal corrections as I know a careful revision would have suggested to his own mind.

I believe that the facts and incidents here recorded will, in the main, be found to be well authenticated. I only regret that the whole could not have been subjected to a thorough examination by him, before being presented to the public. Errors and omissions, if there are any, would have been noticed and corrected.

It has been suggested, that I might add to the interest of the book by continuing the history to the present time; but the original intention of the author was to bring it down to 1820, at which time the town of Kennebunk was incorporated; a period within the memory of many now living. To record the events which have since transpired, would be a comparatively easy task to any one who might feel disposed to undertake it. I have not now the time to devote to such a labor, even did I suppose that by the attempt I should add anything of value to the work, neither could I think of incurring the risk of loss or destruction of the manuscript, by the delay which would necessarily be occasioned thereby. I have felt anxious to publish the work at as early a day as possible, that by the multiplicity of copies, the facts and incidents which my father has





carefully gathered in the course of his long life,—many of which, had it not been for his exertions, would long since have passed from memory—might be preserved. It will be a source of great satisfaction to me, when the volumes are ready for distribution.

In conclusion, I desire to express my thanks to the citizens of Wells and Kennebunk, for the interest manifested by their liberal subscriptions. This generous aid, and the frequent inquiries made of me, in regard to its publication, evince a gratifying interest in the work; and it affords me great pleasure to be thus assured that the patient industry of my father, in his self-imposed task, is so highly appreciated by those in whose behalf he labored.

KENNEBUNK, Jan. 1, 1875.

E. E. B., JR.



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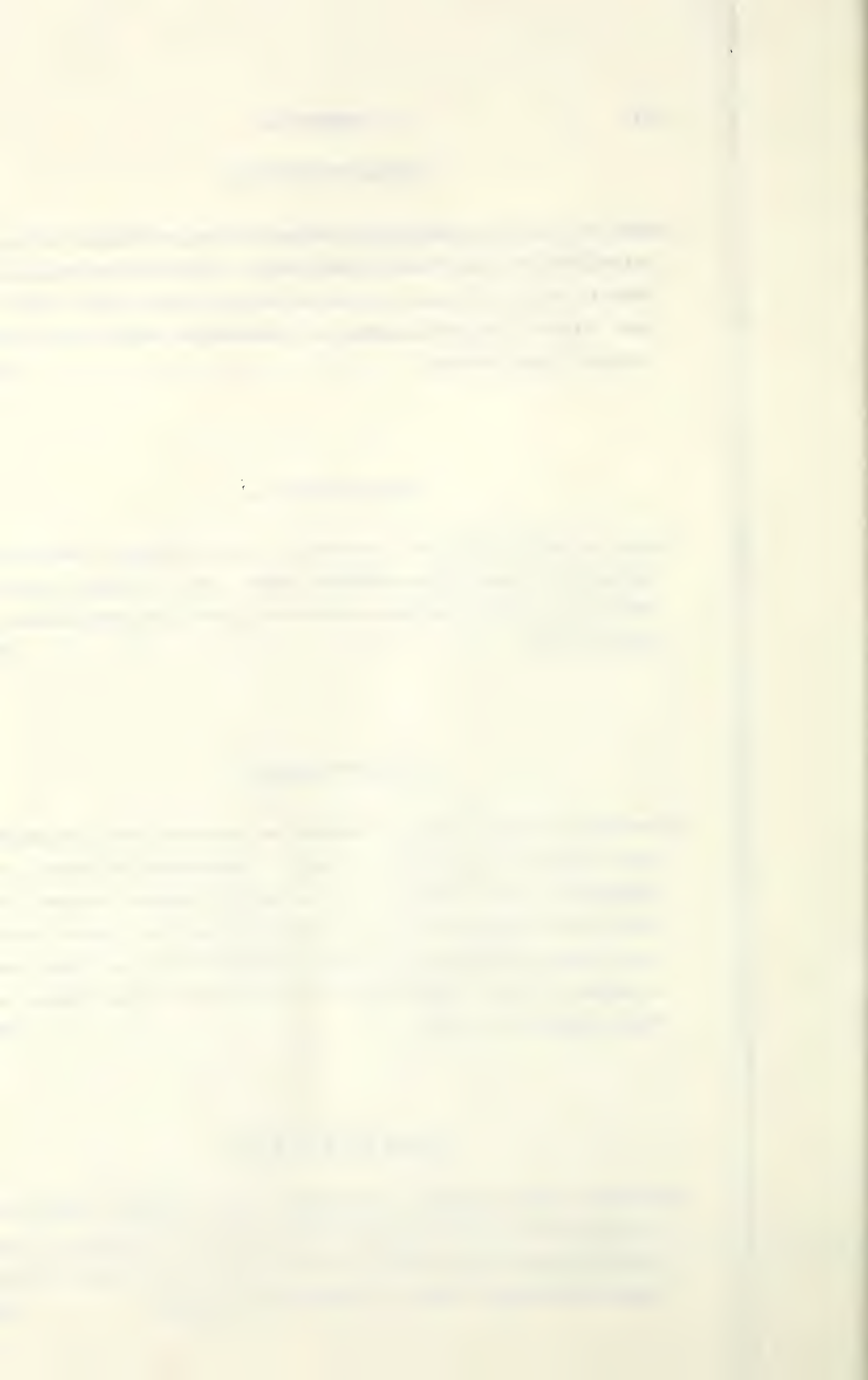
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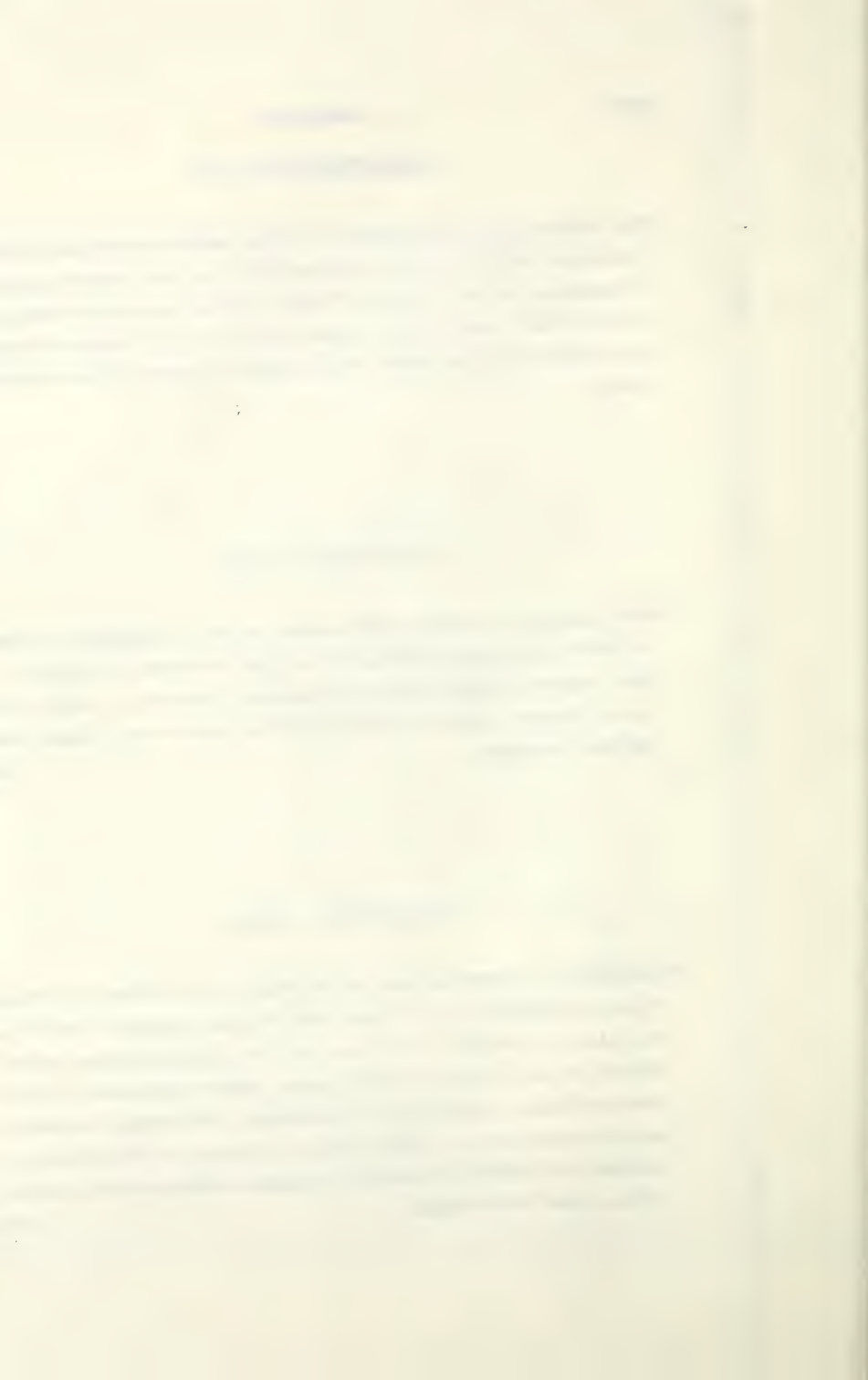
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# HISTORY.

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## CHAPTER I.

THE COAST OF MAINE—GENERAL ASPECT—MARINE BORDER OF WELLS—FIRST SETTLEMENT—INFANT BAPTISM—GORGES' CHARTER—THOMAS GORGES APPOINTED DEPUTY GOVERNOR—GORGES' HOUSE—REV. GEORGE BURDITT—INDICTMENTS AGAINST HIM—A COURT ORGANIZED—PERMITS TO HUTCHINSON AND OTHERS TO TAKE UP LAND—COMMISSION TO JOHN WHEELRIGHT AND OTHERS TO ALLOT LANDS—FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER GORGES.

WE, of the present day, wonder that the early adventurers to Northern America should have selected Nova Scotia, or the shores of the St. Lawrence, as the most eligible locations for initiating a settlement. De Monts, Champlain, and Portinacourt had grown up in a far more congenial atmosphere, blest with a temperature well adapted to personal comfort and the production of the necessaries and luxuries of life. It is not often that intelligent men are induced to abandon the milder for a more rigorous climate. They coasted the whole distance from Port Royal to Cape Cod, with the leading purpose of discovering a site better adapted for the settlement and expansion of a colony. But none of the localities, where now are found flourishing towns and cities, commended themselves to their judgment for the noble object in view. They had entire liberty where to choose. France claimed the whole territory. Their philosophy and prophetic inspiration were not, by any means, equal to their fortitude and daring. No hazard cooled their ardor for adventure; but it would seem that they were wonderfully deficient in that provident forecast which would have dictated a careful consideration of the special aptitudes of the different places visited for the implanting and enlargement of a civilized community.



Where could a harbor more inviting have been found than that of Portland? How could considerate men, with such an object in view, have passed by a position so alluring in all its features for this purpose, and have planted themselves on the shores of the Bay of Fundy or any adjacent territory? It may have been that the philosophy of the age was, in some measure, at fault in controlling the movements of these navigators and colonists. Men naturally concluded that the same latitudes, on various parts of the earth, would be attended with the same climates; that Port Royal and the atmosphere on the shores of the Bay of Fundy would be as congenial as that of Bordeaux, or of the shores of the Bay of Biscay. They were here in the summer season, and had no opportunity of acquiring that instructive experience which was necessary to disprove some of the philosophy then current. They had never been obliged to fellowship with the rigor of an Acadian or New England winter. George Popham, when he landed his colony at the mouth of the Kennebec, did not dream that his brave men, who had been accustomed to the mild climate of England, were thereby to be exposed to a severe temperature which their constitutions were unfitted to withstand. It had been supposed that there might be a short passage to the East Indies through the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; but all hope in this direction had proved groundless. The business now was to plant civilization; to grow up here a new France.

It might have been that the fisheries in the immediate neighborhood, in which so many vessels were engaged, presented inducements for a settlement there sufficient to counterbalance the more favorable aspects of a New England locality. They had also been well received by the natives, with whom a very friendly intercourse prevailed. Whereas, in a visit at one or two places at the West, they had met with disaster in conflict with some of the tribes. In the paucity of their numbers the utmost prudence was required for their personal safety.

But it is not less remarkable that so long a period from the discovery of Columbus should have elapsed before any attempts were made by the English to settle New England. The bay and the banks were crowded with fishing vessels. In 1578, there were between three and four hundred vessels, of various nations, at Newfoundland and vicinity in one season. Probably many of them pursued their business on the coast of Maine. The men from these





vessels were, of necessity, continually landing on our shores, and every return vessel could not fail to carry home some new information in regard to this western world. There surely must have been enough in the scenery and the annual products of nature, even in its wildness, to have arrested their attention and awakened an interest in subjecting it to the benefit of civilization.

No part of the seacoast of Maine could have failed to invite man to its profitable use and enjoyment. The marine border of Wells must have presented allurements to any one imbued with that common element of humanity, the love of money. Its forests, in their original grandeur, abounding with oak and pine, and innumerable varieties of trees, its mill privileges, its four or five navigable rivers, with their commercial advantages, its extensive marshes, its clam-beds and adjacent sea fisheries, we should have supposed, would have offered attractions which the seeker after wealth or the common comforts of life could not have resisted. Its soil too and its climate, though in no degree remarkable, were equally as favorable as any to be met with on the northern and eastern coast of the continent.

But we have no definite knowledge of its occupation by civilized man prior to 1640, though there are facts on the pages of history which seem to indicate very clearly that some persons had previously had a fixed habitation here. In the grants and locations made about this time, creeks, brooks, hills, etc., are mentioned, bearing names which must have been derived from some previous owner or possessor. Before this time, also, there was a regular communication between Agamenticus and Saco, and, as a consequence of this travel, there must have been settlers by the way. In 1640, all the inhabitants from Piscataqua to Kennebunk were required, as soon as they had a minister, to bring their children to be baptized. From this it may well be inferred that there were inhabitants at the eastward of Agamenticus; otherwise, the order would only have included York.

The authors of the different histories of our seacoast towns have generally given a brief account of the early voyages to this part of the western world, as inducements to the narration of the beginning and progress of civilization, and the settlement of that portion of the territory of which they propose to treat. The motive for this course seems to be the impression that some prestige is given to the



town from its early visitation by the bold navigators who came here on the noble enterprise of discovery and colonization. This feeling is a natural one, and no injury can come from its reasonable indulgence. But the character of a town or country must depend on its intrinsic elements; on its resources, and the skill and energy of its inhabitants in their application and use; on those active virtues which give strength to the soul, and thus build up a population of solid men, who draw to themselves public confidence, and thereby impart an abiding stability to the community of which they are a part.

We have, therefore, no such feeling to indulge in commencing this history. Wells was, undoubtedly, visited at a very early period. Its rivers were entered by some of the first adventurers to this coast; but its influence and prominence, in the confederacy of towns composing the State, are not aided or extended by any such adventitious circumstances. It is sufficient for our purpose that it was one of the earliest of the settlements and aggregate corporations of Maine. The State will forever have the honor of having been the first in New England on whose shores the light of civilization, religion, science, and civil law first shed its beams. Those bold and fearless men who landed at Sabino in 1607, and there erected a house for the worship of God, imparting to the redmen of the forest the knowledge of the one great Father, and of the revelation of the Christian faith, the wonderful effects and benefits of intellectual culture and mechanical skill, have given to the State a name imperishable, in which all the towns have a common inheritance.

Gorges obtained his charter of the Province of Maine in 1639. As in Wells, so also along the whole coast from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, there were probably settlers. Some of these were men who had come over the water for the purpose of fishing, and by the allurements of the country had been induced to abandon that business and take to themselves some tracts of land which invited occupation, and hazard future developments, whatever they might be. Some had emigrated to Massachusetts Bay, but, for various reasons, chose to migrate to the East and establish themselves here. They were not men of high moral tone, or of ordinary intellectual culture, or possessed of any considerable amount of property. Among the number might be found a few who had a small real estate in England and possibly held something personal. But they were adven-





turers, coming hither to take advantage of what might turn up in the evolutions anticipated in the few years following this rush to the new world. Some of them were, perhaps, outlaws, driven from the mother country by their crimes. At any rate, the moral manifestations of many of them were not of a character highly honorable to our common humanity.

In 1640, Gorges, having secured his right to the Province, sent over Thomas Gorges, his nephew, as deputy governor. The general indications of the state of affairs, on his arrival here, were not very flattering. Gorges had previously erected in York a mansion house of respectable dimensions and style, superior to the others with which it was surrounded, and furnished it in a manner becoming the dignity of the lord proprietor. But, notwithstanding its high ownership, it was not held sacred in the view of the marauders who had seated themselves in the neighborhood. The lieutenant governor, on entering it, was surprised to find even the building itself very much injured, and of all the household furniture nothing remaining "but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cob-irons." The utterances of such a profanation of the proprietor's house were not very favorable to the character of those over whom he was to exercise his authority, and he began to think his position might not be a very enviable one.

On going forth to a further examination of the condition of the settlers, he soon learned that the desolations which he had here witnessed were only the counterpart of the moral desolation which prevailed among the people. Being removed from the power of an enlightened civilization, and from the restraints of law, some of them had given themselves up to the dominion of passion, and vice was ruling with unlimited sway. Even those who had previously sustained characters which had drawn to them the respect and esteem of the best part of the settlement had indulged in iniquities of the most disreputable nature and destructive of the peace and good order of all decent society. Even the Rev. George Burditt, a man of cultivated intellect, who had enjoyed the good opinion of his fellow-pioneers previously in New Hampshire, so far as to be elected to office of high trust, had suffered himself to be carried away by the seductions of unrestrained liberty. He had been repeatedly guilty of adultery, and of all those misdemeanors invariably concomitant. Females of respectable standing, wives of men of irre-





proachable life, were induced to forget their marriage vows, and fellowship with him in his wickedness. He had a wife and children in England. With such an example before a people uncultivated, and under slight legal restraint, Gorges might well feel that the public morals were far below the Christian standard, and that the havoc made of the lord proprietor's establishment was easily explained.

Gorges having organized a court which was to be holden at Saco, the lieutenant governor determined to adopt the necessary procedure to stay the torrent of vice which was thus undermining the foundation of all good citizenship. He caused Burditt to be indicted as "a man of ill name and fame, infamous for incontinency, a publisher and broacher of divers dangerous speeches, the better to seduce the weak sex of women to his incontinent practices." He was by the bench found guilty and sentenced to pay ten pounds sterling to the king. He was also indicted "by the whole bench" "for deflowering Ruth, the wife of John Gooch," and for this offence was fined twenty pounds sterling.

In this period of our history there was no such deference to the female character in social or civil life as to lead the court or people to avert their eyes from the transgressions of the sex. On the contrary, there was even less sympathy for their frailties and less disposition to palliate and forgive their misdoings than was cherished toward those of the other sex. There were in office, or in social life, few who had been educated to the intercourse of refined society. The courts first established by Gorges were, perhaps, better fitted for their position than most of those which succeeded them, yet they were evidently not overflowing with courtesy for the better part of humanity. Woman did not receive much mercy at their hands.

"Mary, the wife of George Puddington, was indicted" by the whole bench "for often frequenting the house and company of Mr. George Burditt, minister of Agamenticus, privately in his bed chamber and elsewhere in a very suspicious manner, notwithstanding the said Mary was often forewarned thereof by her said husband, and the constable of the said plantation, with divers others, to the great disturbance and scandal of the said plantation," and she was required to make this public confession: "I, Mary Puddington, do hereby acknowledge that I have dishonored God, the place where I live, and wronged my husband, by my disobedient and light car-



riage, for which I am heartily sorry, and desire forgiveness of this court and of my husband, and do promise amendment of life and manners henceforth;" and having made this confession to ask her husband's pardon on her knees. Another female, who was a participant with Burditt in his guilt, was censured by the court, and ordered "to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath days, and likewise one day at this general court, when she shall be thereunto called by the councilors of this Province, according to his Majesty's laws in that case provided."

Such a spectacle in the house of worship, on the Lord's day, would not be a very effectual means of grace, or very likely to elevate the standard of morality among the rising generation, and perhaps not among those of more advanced years. Some crimes are not much diminished by making them the subject of conversation in every household.

But Gorges was determined, if possible, to renew a right spirit among the people. He felt that morality and religion were indispensable supports to any good and prosperous government. He was educated in the belief that even forms, instituted by Infinite Wisdom, were of essential importance in his endeavors to renovate the public morals. Infant baptism, an institution of this high authority, in his opinion, would be followed by the divine benediction, though unrecognized by the subject of it, and though exacted even of the unwilling parent by the requirements of law. Whether his conclusion was well founded or not is immaterial to our purpose. We are not inclined to deny its validity. It was, undoubtedly, at the instigation of Gorges that the order, to which we have before referred, requiring all the children to be brought to baptism, and that disobedience to the decree should subject the offender to prosecution for contempt, was issued by the court in 1640.

It was considered, both in Maine and Massachusetts, a great offence to deny baptism to children, and a few years after this, one Pointer was publicly whipped for refusing to have his child baptized. How far such a procedure would tend to promote the moral advancement of a community it would not seem very difficult to determine. But in those days of ignorance and lawlessness many errors of judgment are pardonable, when we know that the acts which they authorized had their origin in aspirations for the com-

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of assimilation and adaptation. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and its history is therefore a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of entrepreneurs, and its history is therefore a history of innovation and invention. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of reformers, and its history is therefore a history of social and political change. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of idealists, and its history is therefore a history of high aspirations and noble goals. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pragmatists, and its history is therefore a history of practical solutions and effective action. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of optimists, and its history is therefore a history of hope and faith in the future.



mon welfare, and for an entire compliance with the law of God. But that any such measures, so enforced, had any tendency to bring men up out of the moral darkness in which they were involved, we, of this age, cannot, for a moment, believe.

The new government, Gorges' general court, being legislative as well as judicial in its action, did not confine itself to the moral improvement of the people only, but at the same time looked carefully to their physical economy. It may seem a small matter to have made any general enactments in regard to wolves. But to the settlers it was much more important that they should be extirpated than it has been at any time since that salmon, shad, and alewives should be preserved from destruction, or that the agriculture of the country should be protected against the ravages of the crow. Wolves then abounded all along the coast. The town of Wells was infested with them. Their hideous howlings made night terrible to the settlers. The little stock on the farms was always in peril, and every precaution was necessary to guard against their attacks. They were the worst enemies that the pioneers had to encounter. Hitherto they had had free access to the coast, and it was impossible to drive them away from the old ground, while new temptations were offered to them in the flocks of sheep and cattle which were rapidly being introduced into their territories. Every settler was interested in their extermination, and at this court it was "ordered that every family between Piscataqua and Kennebunk River should pay twelve pence for every wolf that should be killed." This, it will be seen, was in the whole a large bounty, but not larger than the interests of all the people required. We do not know that it was effectual in diminishing the number of wolves. More than a hundred years subsequent to this time they continued their direful havoc and howlings, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants.

The planters had, at this time, no other laws than these occasional orders of the general court, and such law of the mother country as was appropriate to their condition. The legislative action of the court was communicated to the people in no other way, that we are aware of, than by the record of the court's proceedings. There were no newspapers or printing presses to perform this work as it is done at the present day. Ignorance of law must have prevailed to a great extent, and there were many who manifestly felt that they were not the subjects of any civil government. The Province was





divided into two districts; the western, embracing the territory between Piscataqua and Kennebunk Rivers; the eastern, including the remainder.

The title to the territory being now considered as vested in Gorges, and a government established over it, those in the mother country, whose impulses led them to adventure to the new world to secure a part in its virgin soil, were naturally attracted to this portion of New England. Gorges, who had labored so hard in its colonization, was extensively known, and his character highly appreciated, throughout England. From what part of it most of those came who settled in the western portions of Maine we have no satisfactory information. The probability is that many of them came from his vicinity. John Wheelright came from Lincolnshire, and perhaps his followers, who adhered to him, at the cost of severe trial and persecution, and came with him to Wells, may have been residents of that county and perhaps members of his church. The following instrument suggests the first step, introductory to the permanent occupation of the town:

"Whereas, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Needham, and some others of the plantation of Exeter have been with me, Thomas Gorges, Superintendent of the affairs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Lord Proprietor of the Province of Mayne, and have desired in behalf of themselves and others to take a certain tract of land lying between Ogunquitt River and Kennebunk, and for eight miles up into the country, but whereas a part of said land (as I heard) is claimed by Mr. Stratton and others, I cannot for the present give any further answer than this: That all the right and interest Sir Ferdinando Gorges hath in the said land shall be freely granted unto them, reserving to Sir Ferdinando Gorges five shillings for every hundred acres of land as well as marsh and uplands that they shall manure, and to me, Thomas Gorges, the priety of Ogunquitt River, of which I have desired a patent, which, when I have received, I do promise to surrender upon reasonable demands anything that may be beneficial to them, not doing myself any notable damage. In the meanwhile they have free liberty to build and take up any lands that are therein Sir Ferdinando Gorges' power to grant, to have and to hold to them and their heirs and assigns forever. Given under my hands Sept. 27, 1641.

THOMAS GORGES."



On the receipt of this license Edmund Littlefield, John Wheelright, Edward Rishworth, Henry Boade, and others entered on the land and begun to make it subservient to the uses of man. In due time, Ferdinando Gorges having ascertained his undoubted right to the territory, agreeably to his promise, made the following grant to Wheelright and others :

“Witnesseth these presents that I, Thomas Gorges, Deputy Governor of the Province of Mayne, according unto the power given unto me from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Lord Proprietor of the said province, have, for divers good causes and considerations in and thereunto moving, given and granted unto Mr. John Wheelright, minister of God’s word, Mr. Henry Boads, and Mr. Edward Rishworth, of Wells, full and absolute power to alot bounds and sett forth any lott or bounds unto any man that shall come to inhabit in the plantation, themselves paying for any land they hold from Sir Ferdinando Gorges five shillings for every hundred acres they make use of, the rest five shillings for every hundred acres that shall be allotted unto them by the said Mr. John Wheelright, Henry Boads, and Edward Rishworth. The bounds of the plantation to begin from the northeast side of Ogunquitt River to the southwest side of Kennebunk River, and to run eight miles up into the country, and in case differences arise between the said Mr. John Wheelright, Henry Boads, and Edward Rishworth concerning the admission of any man into the plantation, or of bounding any land, the said difference shall be determined by the agent or agents of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whom full power is reserved of admitting any one into the aforesaid limitt. Given under my hand and seal at armes this 14th July, 1643.

THO. GORGES.”

“Saco—Memo. at a court holden here the 14th day of August, 1644, this grant was here exhibited and is by us allowed ; for further confirmation we have hereunto sett our hands in court the day and year above written.

RICHARD VINES, Deputy Governor.  
HENRY JOCELINE.  
RICH BONIGHTON.

NICHOLAS SHAPLEIGH.  
FRANCIS ROBINSON.  
ROGER GARD.”

The records of the town are introduced with the foregoing documents. They are the only relics which we have of any propositions





for the settlement of its territory previously to 1643. The neglect of their full transcription in several works in which they have been introduced has been a source of much error. In a concise account of the history of the town, in the first volume of the Maine Historical Collections, the first is set out with the omission of its true date, so that the reader is informed that the plantation or settlement was commenced in 1643. Gov. Sullivan, also, in his History of Maine, gives the same impression. The record, to be sure, is not what it should be. The instrument purports to be dated July 14, 1643, and also Sept. 27, 1641, closing with the latter and beginning with the former. But why the first should have been omitted altogether, and the latter altered from 1641 to 1643, it is not very easy to explain. The intrinsic evidence and extrinsic facts make it plain that 1641 was the true date. Sullivan may have copied from some other copy of the original, and Greenleaf and others from Sullivan. Both of the instruments were recorded at the same time, and the former was placed there to show under what authority the settlers had been occupying.

We do not find in any of the sketches of Wheelright's proceedings and motions, after he was driven from Boston, the time stated definitely when he left Exeter. We believe it to have been not far from the earliest date before mentioned. Judge Smith, in his Centennial Address at that place, does not state the year. He had access to the best sources of information and probably used them, but on this question they furnished no decisive information. It is believed that he, and Williamson, in his History of Maine, relied on Sullivan's statement that he began the settlement at Wells in 1643.

The instrument itself, of which we have given a true copy, requires a different construction. Though Wheelright's name does not appear in it, yet the applicants were his special friends and associates, and the request to Gorges was, undoubtedly, made in behalf of the whole company. Whether he was one of the petitioners or not is immaterial to our purpose, as our inquiry is, when the settlement commenced under Gorges' authority.

We think the petition, or the answer of Gorges embodying the petition, with other established facts, justifies the conclusion that Hutchinson and others came here in the latter part of 1641 or the beginning of 1642. The precise time when they asked for the grant does not appear. Gorges says that they had been here, but how



The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors which have shaped the development of the United States, including the influence of the British, the Spanish, and the French. He also discusses the role of the American people in the creation of the nation. The second part of the paper is a detailed account of the American Revolution. It begins with the first steps towards independence, and then goes on to describe the various battles and events which led to the final victory. The author also discusses the impact of the Revolution on the American people, and the role of the new government. The third part of the paper is a discussion of the American Civil War. It begins with the causes of the war, and then goes on to describe the various battles and events which led to the final victory. The author also discusses the impact of the war on the American people, and the role of the new government. The fourth part of the paper is a discussion of the American West. It begins with the early exploration of the West, and then goes on to describe the various events which led to the settlement of the West. The author also discusses the impact of the West on the American people, and the role of the new government. The fifth part of the paper is a discussion of the American South. It begins with the early settlement of the South, and then goes on to describe the various events which led to the development of the South. The author also discusses the impact of the South on the American people, and the role of the new government. The sixth part of the paper is a discussion of the American North. It begins with the early settlement of the North, and then goes on to describe the various events which led to the development of the North. The author also discusses the impact of the North on the American people, and the role of the new government. The seventh part of the paper is a discussion of the American future. It begins with a discussion of the various factors which will shape the future of the United States, and then goes on to describe the author's vision of the future. The author also discusses the role of the American people in the creation of the future. The eighth part of the paper is a conclusion. It summarizes the main points of the paper, and then discusses the author's final thoughts on the history of the United States. The author also discusses the role of the American people in the creation of the future.

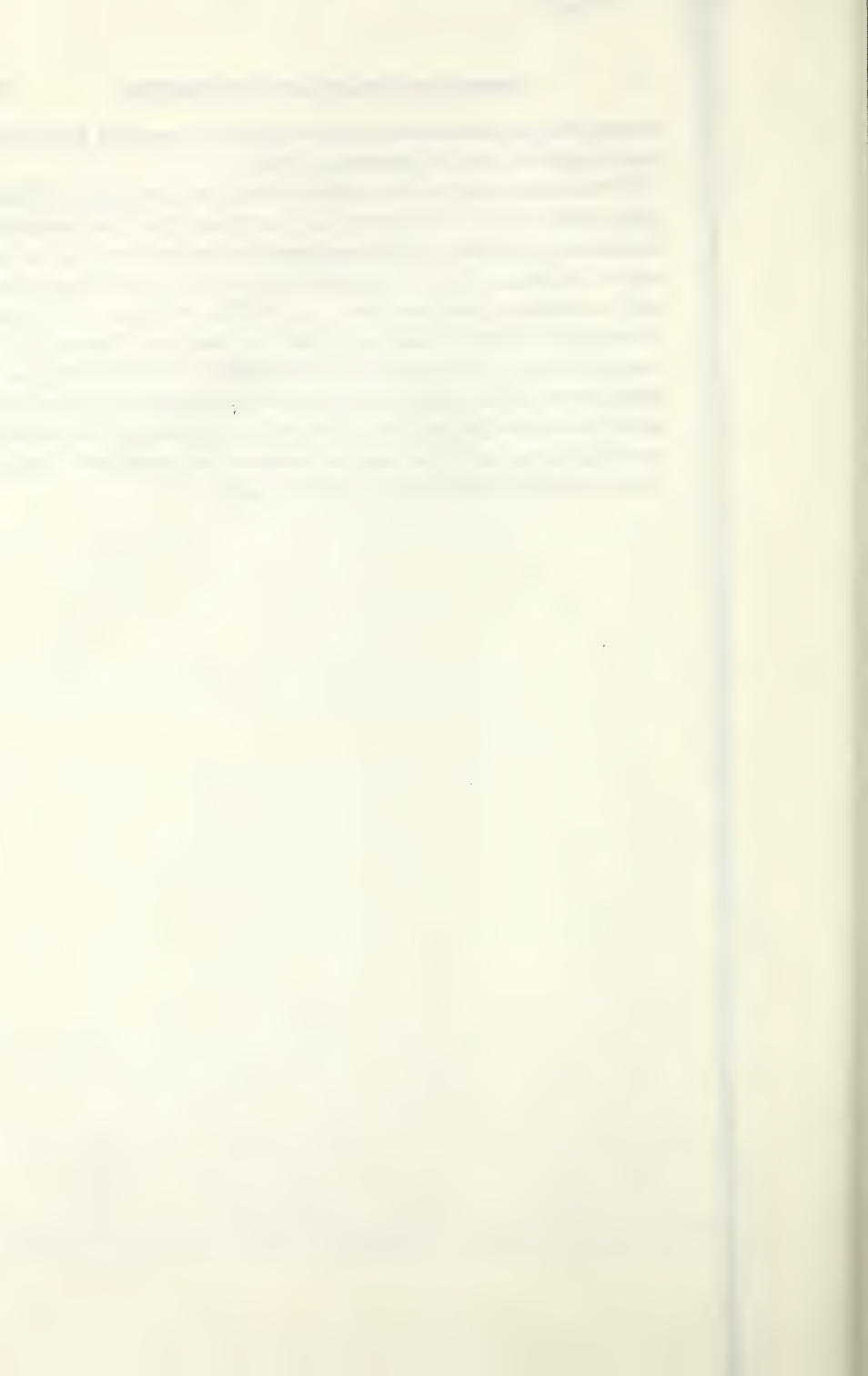
long previously he does not state. New Hampshire was about submitting to Massachusetts, in which case Wheelright and his companions would be exposed immediately to a new banishment. Gorges had assumed the authority over Maine, and they could not fail to be assured that under him they might find a refuge which would not be exposed to the spiritual tyranny of Massachusetts. They had applied to him previously to September, 1641, for a place of habitation in his possessions, and it was granted to them in the reply. Gorges says he was so situated at that time that he could make no definite grant. John Stratton had a grant of 2,000 acres on the western side of Cape Porpoise River. Whether this was valid or not he had no means of ascertaining. That question was to be settled in England. If valid, he could make no grants until its location was determined. He also had applied for a grant of 5,000 acres to himself adjoining Ogunquit River. Whether his petition would be favorably answered or not he did not know. When these two matters were settled they should have what they wished. He then gave them liberty to enter upon the land, in the meantime, and occupy where they pleased. It must, necessarily, have taken much time when their intercourse with England was so limited, to obtain the information required.

Having this liberty, there is no reason for the presumption that they did not at once accept Gorges' offer. They would not ask a year, or two years, in advance of their desired removal, and the reply of Gorges, that they might have immediate possession, would seem to imply that they had asked for it. Emigrants were then rushing to New England, and they would not be very likely to forego the opportunity of securing what lands they wished, before they fell into the hands of others. Some writers have regarded the license of 1641 as the charter of the plantation. We take no such view of it. It is simply a permission to Hutchinson, Needham, and others to go on and occupy the territory until he could give them some more substantial title. If either of the documents is to be regarded as a charter, it is that of July 14, 1643, in which the commissioners were authorized to proceed in the allotment of the land, and make grants to such persons as they thought proper. This grant, it will be seen, entirely disregards John Stratton's claim, as it covers the whole land between Ogunquit and Kennebunk River. It is



strange that any considerate writer should have regarded this document as prior to that of September, 1641.

We do not pretend to determine precisely the time when Wheelright came to Wells. We have full confidence that his associates, Hutchinson, Needham, and others, came here as pioneers, or to examine the land, in 1641. Whether either of the two, at any time, had a residence here we have no reliable evidence. We think Wheelright followed them in 1642. In that year Henry Boade came from Saco. In the deed to Wheelright of April, 1643, he is styled pastor of the church in Exeter, but we suppose his connection with that church had not been dissolved. A portion of his church were still there, and there was no occasion for immediate dissolution. He fled to Maine for his personal safety.



## CHAPTER II.

GRANT TO THOMAS GORGES—GRANT TO WHEELRIGHT—LYGONIA PATENT—CLAIM OF COL. ALEXANDER RIGBY—DECISION IN HIS FAVOR—EDWARD GODFREY—COURTS HELD AT WELLS AND GORGEANA—CLAIM OF MASSACHUSETTS—COMPACT BETWEEN GORGEANA, KITTEBY, AND WELLS—CHARACTER OF GODFREY—COMMISSIONERS SENT BY MASSACHUSETTS INTO MAINE—ADDRESS TO GODFREY—HIS REPLY—INCORPORATION OF GORGEANA—INDIAN DEED TO WADLEIGH—VARIOUS NAMES OF THE PLANTATION—ORIGIN OF THE NAME WELLS—HOUSE OF BOWLES BURNT—NAMES OF INHABITANTS OF THE PLANTATION, WITH BRIEF SKETCHES—MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSIONERS REQUIRE SUBMISSION TO HER AUTHORITY—THEIR COURT AT KITTEBY AND WELLS—JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS ACKNOWLEDGED—OGUNQUIT JOINED TO CAPE NEDDICK—COMMISSIONERS GRANT CORPORATE POWERS TO WELLS—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO SETTLE BOUNDARY BETWEEN WELLS AND YORK.

THOMAS GORGES, in due time, had received his grant of 5,000 acres, but we have been unable to find any location of it. It does not appear to have interfered with allotments in any part of the plantation. Immigrants selected lands without reference to it. Whether he availed himself of it the record does not show.

In 1643, Gorges conveyed to Wheelright a tract of land, of about 400 acres, on the easterly side of Ogunquit River. Wheelright did not dwell on this lot, though when referred to, it is designated as the Wheelright farm. His house was nearer the Cape Porpoise or Mousam River than the Ogunquit, but sufficiently far from the former not to be reached by the Stratton claim, or the lot asked for by Thomas Gorges. Under the authority to Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth, to lay out and assign lots to settlers, but little seems to have been done. A very small number of grants are found, or are referred to on the records. Wheelright does not appear to have acted long on this commission. His residence in Wells was short, probably not continued beyond three years. Several of his associates remained in Wells; some for a few years; others made it a permanent abiding place.





These agents of Gorges were invested with a very important right. He committed to them the power of determining who should be admitted to the plantation. Similar authority had been invested in the plantations in Massachusetts. If wisely exercised, it would have been fruitful of most salutary effects. Had the policy indicated by this provision been continued and made appurtenant to the franchise of our plantations and towns, we might have built up in this State municipalities which would have elevated us far above our present status. In the exercise of such a power all unworthy applicants might have been excluded from an inhabitancy among us. We need not have been troubled by the inroads of rum-selling, profanity, and the various iniquities which destroy the peace of communities, impede the progress of virtue, and delay the advancement of a sound civilization. Our towns might have been built up in a style of beauty and magnificence of which we have now no example, while the niggardly and contracted souls, who sympathize with no philanthropic work, might have congregated elsewhere, in a township of their own, and in the congeniality of mutual selfishness and cupidity freely enjoyed all that happiness which the kingdom of darkness imparts to its subjects.

Soon after the appointment of Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth, as agents for allotting the plantation, the Lygonia Patent was revived and came into the possession of the Honorable Colonel Alexander Rigby. Under the terms of this patent, the possessor claimed even to the Cape Porpoise River, so that the title of all that part of Wells between this and Kennebunk River was brought into controversy. The validity of this patent was denied by Gorges; but the governor general and commissioners of American plantations decided in favor of Rigby, though determining Kennebunk River to be its western boundary. Gorges' whole province was now reduced to the territory between Piscataqua and Kennebunk Rivers. Edward Godfrey was the only councillor dwelling within its limits. To save the plantations from falling into anarchy, he called a court at Wells in 1644. At this court he was appointed governor, and Richard Leader, Nicholas Shapleigh, Thomas Withers, and Edward Rishworth, councillors. Rishworth was also chosen recorder. After this the courts were holden at Wells and Gorgeana.

Godfrey was re-elected the next year, and the people for a little while were undisturbed by any collisions of contending proprietors,



and most of them quietly pursued their labors, in bringing the wilderness into a proper state of cultivation, until Massachusetts came in and claimed the whole province as a part of its territory. For many years that province had construed its own charter to extend no further than three miles east of Merrimaack River. Great diversity of feeling now existing among the planters in reference to the authority under which they would live, the government of that province deemed it a favorable time to throw over Maine its protecting hand. But the government of Maine cherished no aspirations for her jurisdiction. The people were content to pursue their business under Godfrey, although some of them were willing to submit to the new claim.

In 1649, Gorgeana, Kittery, and Wells held a convention at the first-named place. Ferdinando Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, had deceased, and the status of the territory was in great doubt. Some feared that the right of Gorges died with him, and that both the government and their titles to lands would also lapse and die. To avoid the evils which impended by this event, this convention assembled and entered into the following compact: "We, with our free and voluntary consent, do bind ourselves in a body politic and combination to see these parts of the country and province regulated according to such laws as had formerly been exercised, and such others as shall be thought meet, but not repugnant to the fundamental laws of our native country."

Provision was also made for the choice of councillors annually by the people. The whole province of Maine, over which the new government was now created, embraced only these three towns (Kittery, then including Eliot and Berwick). The whole population was not equal to that of any one of them at the present day, and the government, it is believed, in comparison with the present municipal regulations of these places, would not be regarded as maintaining any striking precedence over them.

Godfrey was not that considerate, reflecting, far-seeing man needed for the chief magistrate of a people entirely unversed in the theory and administration of a wise government. His bombastic, profane introduction of his orders is not significant of a very high appreciation of the reverence which is due from man to his Creator. He was wont to address himself to his sub-officers and people in this style: "To all Christian people to whom these presents shall





come, greeting, in our Lord God everlasting." This was magnifying his office a little more than its dignity would authorize. The selectmen of our towns might, with equal propriety, address their precepts with the same high sanction. Such an irreverent use of assumed divine authority would not be likely to nourish in the minds of the people a veneration of the name of the Infinite.

He had not that calm independence, free from passion and excitement, which becomes one in office of high responsibility. He caused Goody Mendum to be indicted for saying that "she looked upon Mr. Godfrey as a dissembling man." He also brought his action of slander against Francis Raynes and wife, for charging his wife, Ann, "as being a liar." Such charges are not often made without some shadow of a foundation, and it ill became one in Godfrey's position so to notice them as to be seeking compensation for the supposed injury in a court of justice. The respectable office of governor we should judge to be essentially compromised by such proceedings. Goody Mendum's character was not such that her defamatory words would carry with them power for much evil.

Although in his subsequent correspondence with Massachusetts he exhibited some decision of character, his diplomacy manifests but little of that wise and discreet sense of the dignity which should be maintained by one elevated to the high position which he occupied. His views of life, in all its various relations of duty and of social and civil intercourse, do not seem to have differed essentially from those of the court of which he was a member, and from which emanated the heathenish orders of which we have before spoken. We may, also, here add another order of similar character, issued by the court of which he was at the head, holden at Gorgeana in 1649, exhibiting his refined and gentlemanly spirit, and the deference with which he regarded the closest relations of life. "Ordered that any woman who shall abuse her husband, or any others, by opprobrious language, may be put in the stocks two hours, and if incorrigible may afterwards be whipped." Such a government must have in itself very few of those moral attributes on which alone its prosperity could be predicated.

But still Governor Godfrey is worthy of commendation for the persevering and indomitable spirit which he manifested in what he considered to be right, and for his courage in seating himself down in York, an entire wilderness, with none to whom he could look in





his solitude for any help which the emergencies of his condition might require. He located himself there in 1630, building the first house in that place. He was the founder of York. What his motive was in making such a selection for a habitation does not appear. Possibly the fishing business might have tempted him to the adventure. No location could have been better fitted for that purpose. His house was on the north side of the river. But thus away from the intercourse and business haunts of men, he would be little likely to grow in the virtues of social life or in the necessary qualifications for gubernatorial authority. The solitary and recluse do not generally cherish very strong attachments for the female sex, or cultivate any of those attributes which lead them to feel that female association is a necessary element of every stable and prosperous community. He was stronger to meet all the perils of the wilderness than to confront the face of man. Though lord of all he possessed, he suffered adventurers to come in and crowd upon him, so as to reduce his lands to a quantity too small for his own necessary cultivation.

The people being divided in their preferences of the government under which they would live, and Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, being dead, Massachusetts, as before stated, now determined to claim jurisdiction over the whole province. The plain import of the charter of that colony might be in conformity with the new construction now put upon it; but as an entirely different view of its meaning had been heretofore taken, and concurred in by the company on the other side of the water, it would seem that this understanding of all parties ought to have been conclusive as to the extent of the jurisdiction of that colony, more especially when this construction had prevailed more than twenty years, and many grants had been made under the impression that it was acquiesced in by Massachusetts and all interested.

In 1651, Massachusetts sent commissioners into Maine, under instructions to admit the inhabitants as citizens of that province, and at the same time sent an address to Godfrey, setting forth the reasons for their claim. But Godfrey had no disposition to submit to it. He called a general court, and it was determined to send to the home government a petition to establish the confederation into which they had entered. Massachusetts received information of that fact and took measures to defeat the petition. A new survey was also had, satisfactorily establishing the position that their char-



ter carried them to Casco Bay. Godfrey responded to the address of Massachusetts in terms not very acceptable, charging that government with grasping at that which did not belong to it, and concluding with the words, "Such is the charity you have heretofore manifested towards our religion and other interests, that we trust you will excuse us if we are the more wary of your proposals and promises."

A very spirited reply to this letter was sent by Massachusetts, which was followed by a rejoinder from Godfrey not less spirited and decided. Other communications passed between the parties not very conciliatory, and not tending much to God's glory and the peace of the people, at which both claimed to be aiming. Massachusetts insisted that most of the people were in favor of placing themselves under her jurisdiction, while Godfrey declared that there were but few persons with any such leanings, and that these few were criminals and men of no worth. But Maine was powerless for resistance. Massachusetts sent commissioners to assume jurisdiction, and at the same time to protest against the exercise of authority by any in office under Gorges' government, and absolving all from allegiance to it. This maneuvering met with but little success. The people were not yet prepared to avail themselves of her protection; but not long after, in 1653, the opposition was somewhat mollified, and they consented to yield, none of the titles of the settlers being affected by this transfer of jurisdiction.

The settlement at York was one of the inducements to the occupancy of the territory adjoining. Ferdinando Gorges had made great preparation to render it an important center of influence. He had sent there mechanics of various kinds and common laborers to carry forward the work of improvement, and to make the place a useful auxiliary to the other plantations which might be set on foot in the neighborhood. By placing it in a self-sustaining and prosperous condition it would be a very material help for this purpose. Here population was soon concentrated, and immigrants felt a degree of safety in taking up lands not far from it. To render it more effectual for his purposes, he caused it to be incorporated as a city, giving it the name of Gorgeana. It embraced within its limits twenty-one square miles, and extended from York River, east, three miles, and seven miles into the interior from the sea. The village





was located at the harbor. Provision was made for its government, not materially different from that of cities at the present day. It was to have a mayor and recorder, twelve aldermen, and a common council of twenty-four. The mayor and aldermen were authorized to appoint four sergeants, whose badge of office was to be a white rod, and who were to serve all precepts. The mayor, aldermen, and recorder were to hold a court every week. Gorges' claim to all the lands was conveyed to the city. From this array of officers one would think the city teemed with inhabitants; but these forty officers, it is most likely, comprehended more than half of all the settlers. For a few years this city enjoyed some prosperity.

There were yet no indications of trouble with the Indians, and there were strong inducements to those who ventured to seek a habitation here so to locate themselves as to have the benefit of accessibility to some near settlement, where the various demands which must inevitably spring up might possibly be supplied. This was, we may venture to say, one of the principal motives which led Needham, Hutchinson, and others to select Wells as a place of habitation. The plantation, however, did not grow rapidly under these favorable circumstances. The unstable government, of which we have given a concise account, and the uncertainty of title presented very serious obstacles to the increase of its population. It needed the sustaining hand of a firm and effective administration. There is no basis of prosperity aside from this. Without law, establishing and maintaining rights, men cannot, with confidence, give their energies to business. Titles must be sure, labor protected, and order preserved. Some were for the government of the old country, some for Massachusetts, and some for the institution of one among themselves. From this diversity of opinions grew up animosities and bickerings, strifes and contentions, so that there was nothing in the general aspects of the settlements which availed to attract immigration. Gorges had claimed title; so had Massachusetts; and so had Rigby of a part of the town; and grants had been taken from these different lords of the territory, some acknowledging and relying on one, and some on another.

But the foregoing do not embrace all the rights which were supposed to exist in this territory. A great many persons at that day, as well as the present, were full believers in the absolute title of the



natives to the soil of Maine. Expediency, truly, does not find any serious obstacles in getting rid of such a right. New England Puritanism had no conscientious scruples to prevent the seizure of the possession, yet the title was regarded by some as worth as much as the title of either of the contending parties of whom we have been speaking.

There is manifest error in the statement which has found its way into history, that "there is no evidence that the land in Wells was ever purchased of the Indians." It is somewhat remarkable that, with the records near at hand, such an error should have been fallen into. It does not appear that the town acquired any title directly from them; but the remark is understood as affirming that their rights were never released. Even though so many generations have intervened since the territory was entered upon by the white man, it is some satisfaction to the present holders of these lands to be assured that their title did not begin in wrong; that the original owners had voluntarily parted with it.

There is no written evidence surviving that the town, as such, ever had any legal title from the natives, although it may have been acquired, in some way, from the deed to Wadleigh. In a memorial of the inhabitants to Charles II. they allege that they purchased their lands of them. Individuals may have taken deeds directly from some of the Sagamores, but it is more likely that the following instrument was the basis of the allegation :

"Whereas Sagimore Thomas Chabinocke, of Nampscoscoke, by virtue of his last will and testament, had given and bequeathed, and for certain good reasons and considerations him hereunto moving, hath, and by virtue hereof doth, freely and forever give and grant unto John Wadleigh, of Wells, to him, his heirs and successors, and that forever, of his own accord, and with the consent of his mother, Ramanascho, to whom the said Wadleigh has given a consideration, the premises, considered after the manner of a purchase, bargain, and sale; the said Sagamore and his adherents and survivors have, for themselves and successors, confirmed and made sure unto the said John Wadleigh and his successors, to be inherited presently after the death of the said Sagamore, all that the Sagamore, with his whole right, title, and interest, called by the name of Nampscoscoke, bounded between Nogimcoth and Kennebunk, and up as high




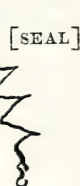
as Cape Porpoise Falls, and the same, with all the profits, commodities, and appurtenances, against all men to warrant and defend.

Witness our hands and seals this 18th day of October, 1649.

Sealed signed and  
delivered in presence  
Philemon Pormorte

The Sagamores marke  
with his own hand


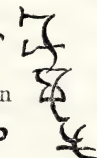
Ramanascho her mark

 [SEAL]  


Will Wardell

Sasagahaway

his mark

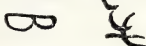
  


his mark

Stephen Batson



his mark



Robert Wadleigh

Nell wife to Sasagahaway

mark 

And they all affirm Ceasar consents to this.

William Wardell's testimony,  
that this is the act and deed  
of Thomas Chabinocke, the Saga-  
more of Wells. Taken before  
me the 25th of March, '57.

JOSEPH BOWLES,  
Commissioner.

Ramanascho, the mother of the Sagamore Thomas Chabinocke, in 1650, quitclaimed to Wadleigh to confirm and establish the foregoing, for ten pounds sterling, which she and the Sagamore received in his lifetime.

"31 March, 1650. John Wadleigh took quiet and peaceable possession of the premises contained in his Indian right, laying the whole continent from Cape Porpoise Falls, and so by a straight line to Neginquit, and so down to the seaside, and further assigns the same, as it shall be inhabited, to be liable to all common charges and rates for the town of Preston, alias Wells, and to this, as in the same or like case required, we the witnesses have subscribed our names."





Some of the sanctions to this transfer of title indicate a very cautious civil polity, and a more extensive regard to some of the relationships of life than we have yet seen among civilized men. The Sagamore's sister signifies her approbation of the act, and the parties and witnesses also affirm that Ceaser gives his consent. Who Ceaser was the record does not show. The mother's rights were also respected. The heritage from the Great Father, which she had so long enjoyed, could not be aliened without her approbation. Some of the ruling principles of savage life, it might be well, even for Christians, to cherish and carry out in their business transactions. We have been accustomed, from the historical accounts which have been presented to us, to look upon woman among the red men of the forest as assigned to a degraded condition; but when we contrast this reverence of the savage for the maternal relation, and the rights and interests of his sister, with the order of the court at Saco, soon after, that "no women or hogs" should be allowed on the Isle of Shoals, we think civilization would see little to boast of.

It will be seen from the foregoing deed of the Sagamore that the territory included in the plantation has had three different names. It was by the Indians called Nampscoscoke. Not being versed in Indian dialect, we are unable to state the import of this name. Without doubt, it was expressive of something in its features or history which was well known and understood by them. It is not very euphonious, but to strangers, perhaps, as much so as Kennebunk. Afterwards it was called Preston, and this name was applied to it, by some, four or five years after its incorporation. From whom this designation came we cannot answer. There was one Edward Preston at Plymouth in 1641. He was "a lewd fellow of the baser sort," and could not have had the honor of giving his name to the town. We know of no other person of that name in the country. Preston is a large manufacturing town in England, in the county of Lancaster, and was then, or had been previously, called Priest's town, from the number of its "religious houses." It may have had this appellation from the fact that John Wheelright had the charge of superintending and controlling the disposition of the lands within it.

The first grants which were made of lands in the plantation were described as in Wells. When this name was first applied to the territory embraced in it we have not ascertained. It has not been



usual thus to designate plantations; but the name was given to this beyond the period of which we have any record. In a recent publication it is said that the town derives its name from one of its early settlers, Thomas Wells, who came here from Ipswich; but this statement is entirely destitute of foundation. Thomas Wells did not come here till 1657, fifteen years after we find the name applied. Judge Wells, a descendant of Thomas, was accustomed to state it as his opinion that the great number of springs with which it abounds suggested its name; but we are not aware that there are more springs in this than in the towns adjoining, and if there were, when it received its name, the wilderness being unbroken, but few of them could have been discovered. Others have said, and with much more reason, that it was given by Gorges, according to a custom, then common, to apply the names of well-known places in the old country to new places of residence here. Wells was an important city in England, and not far from the residence of Gorges in Somersetshire. Cardinal Woolsey resided there. It was much distinguished for its many public buildings, and it was probably this prominence which led Hubbard, in his History of New England, thus to speak of the application of the name to this plantation: "Between Cape Porpoise and Piscataqua," he says, "there are but two small towns more (though ambitious of great names), the one called Wells, the other York." As he was then living in New England, it is probable that he well understood the reason why this name was given. As this city, also, was within twenty miles of Gorges' residence, some of its inhabitants were, perhaps, influenced by him to come over here, and one of the inducements offered might have been that the name of the old home would go with them to their new settlement.

Owing to the different titles set up, by parties in interest, to the plantation previously to its incorporation, no one could foresee what might be the final adjudication by competent authority. The political and social condition of the people and the general aspect of affairs in this unsettled state of the title presented nothing attractive to those who were anxious to select a permanent residence. During the ten years succeeding the beginning of a settlement here it does not appear that it made very rapid progress. Oblivion has taken to itself the larger part of the history of this period. By the unfortunate burning of the house of Joseph Bowles, in 1657, one of the





volumes of the town records was destroyed, so that we have no means of ascertaining the grants which had been made, or possessions taken and confirmed, excepting so far as we have found copies of these records, or tenants in the occupation of what had been allotted to them. In the period named between thirty and forty persons had here made a home; but previously to 1653 some of them had removed to New Hampshire, the advantages offered in that province being more alluring than any which they could expect to enjoy by continuing in Wells.

The following persons appear to have been inhabitants during the continuance of the plantation: Samuel Austin, John Barret, John Barret, jr., Stephen Batson, Henry Boade, Robert Boothe, Joseph Bowles, John Bush, Nicholas Cole, William Cole, Joseph Emerson, John Gooch, William Hammond, Ezekiel Knight, Edmund Littlefield, Anthony Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, jr., John Littlefield, Thomas Littlefield, Thomas Miles, Philemon Portmotte, Edward Rishworth, John Sanders, Jonathan Thing, John Wakefield, William Wardell, Rev. John Wheelright, Thomas Wheelright, William Wentworth, John Wadleigh, John White.

Whether Nicholas Needham, Edward Hutchinson, or Augustine Story ever resided in Wells cannot now be determined. We have no evidence that any allotment of land was made to either of them; but the foregoing inhabitants, whom we have named, are to be regarded as the founders of Wells. There was great variety of character among them; some were good and worthy, while others had not much to boast of in their moral composition. A want of education, it is believed, was at the root of all their obliquities. A vast proportion of the wickedness of earth has its origin in the same cause. Of many of these settlers a more full biography will be given in the course of this work.

Stephen Batson, Robert Boothe, Philemon Portmotte, or Portmotte, Rev. John Wheelright, and William Wentworth removed from the plantation before its incorporation as a town. Batson was the first occupant of Drake's Island. Here he built his house, the cellar of which is still to be seen, the house having been gone many years. In the middle of the cellar, a few years ago, stood the remains of an old oak tree, which had sprung up after the house had been taken away, grown to a good old age, and then was reft of its branches, nothing remaining but its lifeless trunk. Batson might



have been a man of some usefulness, but he had the misfortune to be united to a woman who had a very imperfect appreciation of her obligations as a wife and mother. She grossly abused her husband and treated a part of her children very unkindly. He was compelled to resort to legal proceedings to curb her tongue and soften her unhallowed temper. The court in those days had but very little sympathy for the sex. As before suggested, some of their legislative acts, as well as their judicial adjudications, show very clearly the low estimate they had of female sensibilities and of the true amenities of life. In this case the court awarded that Mrs. Batson should make acknowledgment of her offences before the court, before the town meeting at Wells, and before the town meeting in Cape Porpoise, and in case of refusal or neglect to do so she was to receive twenty stripes on her naked back. Woman, in those days, appears clearly to have been regarded as the slave of man. No other inference can be drawn from the outrages upon all the refinements of civilization so often appearing in the decrees of the court. What affection could exist, subsequent to procedures of this character, between husband and wife? What respect for those female virtues, which go to make up a refined Christian intercourse, could exist in the minds of judges who could thus tamper with those delicate sensibilities which endear woman to the other sex and make her, as it were, the guardian angel of all that is pure and heavenly in social and domestic life? We are not aware that any of Mrs. Batson's descendants survive in Wells.

Robert Boothe came with Wheelright from Exeter and appears to have acted as clerk of the plantation. We suppose him to have been an influential member of Wheelright's church. He removed from Wells to Saco before the town was incorporated. He was appointed a "commissioner to try small causes," also a commissioner to apportion the county charges on the several towns. He was also a selectman of Saco and a deputy to the general court. It was ordered by the commissioners of Massachusetts "that he should have liberty to exercise his gift for the edification of the people there." It is very likely that he had departed from the faith on which the church in Wells was founded and, disagreeing with his associates, chose to separate himself from them. Massachusetts would never have authorized or allowed him to preach the word if he had inculcated doctrines which rendered it unsafe for him to dwell in the





colony. He continued several years to officiate as a public teacher in that town, and in 1659 the inhabitants voted that "Robert Boothe shall teach the word on the Lord's day until we have a better in his place, and he shall have for his labor all which the town is disposed to give him." That, surely, was a generous offer; but at a town commissioners' court soon after, Saco was ordered to make a tax of ten pounds for his services. Boothe had had a good education, was one of the council of Lygonia, and held various other offices. It would have been well, we think, if the town of Wells could have retained him among its inhabitants.

Philemon Portmote was a man of some intellectual culture. He was made a freeman of Massachusetts in 1635, and was a member of the Boston Church. Probably he was a firm disciple of Wheelright, as he followed him to Exeter, having been advised to depart, on pain of imprisonment, although, previously to this, he was "entreated to become a school-master in Boston for the teaching and nurturing of children." He was one of the combination at Exeter, and had fourteen acres of land assigned to him there. He came with Wheelright to Wells and took an active part in the affairs of the church. But dissensions sprung up, and his theological views not corresponding with those of the ruling power in Massachusetts, he lost favor and was denied the privilege of church communion. He continued several years to make his home here, but what became of him we cannot tell. The records furnish no further information of him. He may have followed Wheelright to Hampton, yet we think he left behind him living memorials of his earthly pilgrimage. In 1680, Elias Pormotte and Lazarus Pormotte were working in the mill of Nicholas Cole. Lazarus was born the 3d of the 12th month, 1635. They were his sons. Pormotte, we suppose, wrote the original deed by which the Indian title to Nampscoscoke came into the hands of the English.

Of Rev. John Wheelright we shall have occasion to speak in connection with the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, and as his name has been so long associated with the original settlement and with the establishment of the church here, we shall hereafter give a more particular account of him.

William Wentworth came to Wells with John Wheelright, from Exeter. He was one of the combination there, and had four acres of land assigned to him. In those days the churches selected cer-





tain members for directors and disciplinarians in matters of interest to the order and well being of the communion. These were called ruling elders. Wentworth was invested with this office, and was always called Elder William Wentworth. He was one of nature's noblemen. We have not been able to ascertain where he resided, but we think it most probable that he was one of the family of Ezekiel Knight, who died in 1687, and in his will gave all his property to the children of his daughter, Elizabeth Wentworth.

We infer from this clause that William Wentworth had married the daughter of Knight. He had lived in Wells several years, but we have been unable to discover any evidence that he owned or occupied a house. He removed to Dover, and in his old age Knight also left Wells and passed the remainder of his days at that place. The principal objection to this inference, on the part of the leading genealogist of the Wentworth family, is the disparity of ages between the elder and any supposed daughter of Knight, Wentworth being thought to be nearly as old as Knight. His first son was born in 1640. Knight may have had a daughter then old enough to be a mother; perhaps she was then sixteen or eighteen. In those days a large excess of years in the husband over the wife was as common as at the present time. If Wentworth was one of the family of Knight, on one side of him was Francis Littlefield, whose wife was eleven years younger than her husband, and on the other side Joseph Bolles, whose wife was sixteen years younger than he was. We think we must adhere to the opinion that old Wells furnished the mother of the distinguished family of the Wentworths, until some new light shall satisfy us that this judgment is erroneous. Wentworth removed from Wells to Dover previously to 1653. He was the progenitor of all the distinguished men of that name in this country. Among his descendants were John Wentworth, lieutenant governor of New Hampshire, and commander in chief of that province for many years, Benning Wentworth, governor of that State twenty-five years, and John Wentworth, his nephew, who was governor several years, ending at the beginning of the Revolution. Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago, is also one of his descendants. Our late worthy citizens, Benjamin Wentworth and Nahum Wentworth, who came from New Hampshire, have the same honorable ancestry. The elder was a brave man. "In 1689, a large party of Indians made an assault on the garrison at Dover. He was at that



time more than eighty years old, and lodged in Heard's garrison. Awakened from his sleep just as the Indians were entering, he pushed them out, and falling back pressed his feet against the gate and held it till the people were alarmed, so that the women and children were saved." He was an energetic and useful man and an earnest Christian. He died in 1697, at the age of ninety years.

These persons, of whom we have given brief sketches, were among the founders of Wells. It would have been well for the town if they could have remained here. More moral and intellectual strength was needed than seems to have been exhibited by the generation following.

We have endeavored to give as good an account as we are able of the state of the plantation before it was incorporated as a town. The view presented, we feel, is far from complete. Amidst the uncertainties, contradictions, obscurities, and other obstacles with which we meet in the mass of matter found in our various historical archives, it is impossible to obtain a full and satisfactory knowledge of men and things as they existed at the period which we have gone through. But now Massachusetts extends its strong arm over the whole of Gorges' territory, and commands all the people to yield to her jurisdiction. Henceforth we have fuller records and more reliable resorts for historical facts.

To establish and confirm this authority, in 1652 commissioners were appointed to visit Maine and require the submission of the people. These commissioners held a court at Kittery, and as there was no alternative, the people yielded to the demand and declared their loyalty to that colony. Afterwards they went to Agamenticus or Gorgeana, since called York, and summoned the people to appear before them for the same purpose. There was a strong opposition to this claim of Massachusetts and much controversy with the commissioners upon the subject; but the larger proportion of the settlers were finally induced to surrender, and yielded their acknowledgment of the jurisdiction claimed. Godfrey continued, a long time, steadfast in his opposition. He had no love for that colony and looked upon this proceeding as a wicked usurpation. The idea of submitting to it was a little more than his spirit could endure; but, at length, perceiving that all the people were abandoning him, and that resistance could be of no avail, he came forward very reluctantly and signed the submission.





Among those who acknowledged allegiance at this time was Thomas Wheelright, who was an inhabitant of Wells. The explanation of this fact does not appear in any published historical sketch of Wells or York, but it will be well understood from the following order of the court. At a general court holden at Kittery, Dec. 30, 1651, it was ordered that "Mr. Wheelright's farm and Cape Neddock are hereby joined together as a village of this province, and have liberty annually to elect and send a deputy for themselves, who shall have power to grant warrants and appoint any person within the said village to serve them, which village shall so continue with their privileges till they grow to be more capable for a town." This union was continued till the incorporation of York, but when it terminated does not appear. In that year the inhabitants of the village were taxed, or required "to give in their contribution toward building a prison at York." But afterwards their rates were to be divided between York and Kittery. The Wheelright farm embraced most of the upland between Ogunquit and Webhannet Rivers. Some others, who lived on this territory, which seems to have been regarded as an adjunct of York, may have signed the York submission.

The commissioners did not at this time extend their mission further east. For some unknown reason the subjection of the remainder of the province was deferred till next year, when the commissioners, on the fourth of July, assembled at the house of Joseph Emerson, in Wells, to demand allegiance of the inhabitants of this plantation. They were not so ready to give up their independence as were the people of York and Kittery. That day, consecrated to liberty more than a hundred years afterwards, was not thus, in advance, desecrated by an abject surrender of the founders of Wells, though compelled subsequently to come under the yoke. Six only of the inhabitants appeared: Joseph Emerson, Ezekiel Knight, John Gooch, Joseph Bolles, Jonathan Thinge, and John Barret, sen. John Gooch had already laid down his arms and signed the submission at York. Jonathan Thinge and John Barret were not, in our view, very good specimens of a noble humanity, as may be seen in the prosecution of this history. Emerson, Knight, and Bolles were so far tinctured with Puritanism, or rather with the Massachusetts theology, as to feel a much closer sympathy with the spiritual hierarchy of that province than with the Episcopal atmosphere of



Maine. William Wardell, as he was passing by, was notified to come in and answer to his name; but he had no respect for Massachusetts or her commissioners, and treated the notice with contempt, returning rather an insolent reply to the court. He had been one of the Boston church, and was one of the disciples of John Wheelright and Ann Hutchinson, of whom the general court say that "there is just cause of suspicion that they may, upon some revelation, make some sudden eruption upon those who differ from them in judgment," and therefore they were required to deliver up all guns, pistols, swords, powder, and shot in their possession to Mr. Cane, as agent for the province. Wardell was one of the number who were thus disarmed. It is not at all remarkable that he should have thus contemptuously disregarded this summons from these messengers of a hierarchy which had thus trampled upon his rights. One would, with difficulty, be persuaded to believe, were not the evidence so decisive, that professing Christians, who are bound to the exercise of all charity, should tremble for their personal safety, because another professed disciple held to the doctrine that "the Holy Spirit dwells personally in a justified convert, and that sanctification can, in no wise, evince to believers their justification." Who can believe that such a bugbear could ever have found a resting place in the head of any rational man? But Wardell had been, through its power, divested of his rights and his property and driven from his home in Boston. His treatment of the commissioners, therefore, needs no apology. Whatever his character (which we do not think of any great worth), it loses nothing by this expression of his contempt.

But there was no escape from submission. The court ordered him to be arrested and then adjourned to the house of Ezekiel Knight, where the constable brought him before them to answer for his contempt. Here whatever manhood he had failed him. He was inquired of why he did not come in when notified to do so; his answer was, that he did not refuse to do so from any disrespect toward the court, but because he wanted to get the rest of the inhabitants to come in with him. If he had been sanctified, his sanctification was, truly, no evidence of his justification. He had too much of the character of many of those at the present day who hold the most unreasonable doctrines; they are seldom able to hold fast their integrity in perilous times.





Many of the remainder of the inhabitants followed Wardell to the court, and they promising that he should give his attendance the next day, the court adjourned to the fifth at eight o'clock, when, being called by name, the following persons came forward and acknowledged themselves subject to the government of Massachusetts: Henry Boade, John Wadleigh, Edmund Littlefield, John Sanders, William Hamans, Anthony Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, jr., Thomas Littlefield, Nicholas Cole, William Cole, John White, John Bush, Robert Wadleigh, Francis Littlefield, sen., William Wardell, Samuel Austin, John Wakefield, Thomas Miles, John Barret, jr.

Wardell's signature to the submission was received at the special request of the inhabitants. These, together with those who subscribed the day before, with their families, constituted, we suppose, the entire population of the town on the fifth day of July, 1653. The submissionists were all made freemen and took the required oath.

The commissioners then granted to the town of Wells corporate powers similar to those which had been granted to York and Kittery. The following is the act of incorporation:

"1. Wells shall be a township by itselfe, alwayes shallbe a part of Yorkshire, and shall enjoy protection, aequall acts of favor and justice with the rest of the people ynhabitting on the South side of the River of Piscatque w<sup>th</sup>in the limitts of our jurisdiction and enjoy the priviledges of a toune as others of the jurisdiccon have and doe enjoy w<sup>th</sup> all other libertyes and priviledges to other inhabitants in our jurisdiccon.

"2. That every inhabitant shall have and enjoy all their just propaieties, titles, and interests in the howses and lands which they doe possess, whither by graunt of the toune possession, or of the former Genneral Courts.

"3. That all the present inhabitants of Wells shall be freemen of the countrye, and having taken the oath of freemen shall have libertye to give their voates for the election of Governo<sup>r</sup>, Asistants, and other Genneral officers of ye countrye.

"4. That the sayd toune of Wells shall have three men approoved by the County Court from yeere to yeere to end smale causes, as other the townships in the jurisdiccon hath, where no magistrate is, according to lawe; and for this present yeere, Mr. Henry Boade,





Mr. Thomas Whelewright, and Mr. Ezekiel Knight are appointed and authorised comissioners to end smale cawses under forty shillings, according to lawe. And further these comissioners or any two of them are and shall be impoured and invested with full power and authoritye as magistrates to keepe the peace and in all civill cawses to graunt attachments and executions if neede require. Any of the sayd comissioners have power to examine offenders, to comit to prison unlesse bayle be given according to lawe; and when these, or any of these, shall judge needefull, they shall have power to binde offenders to the peace or good behavior; also any of these comissioners have power to administer oathes according to lawe; also marryage shallbe solemnised by any of the comissioners according to lawe."

The foregoing charter sets out no boundaries to the territory which is thus made a town of itself by the name of Wells. None of the former proceedings of those interested in the township anywhere indicate its western limits. The grant to Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth was of the land between Ogunquit and Kennebunk Rivers. Previously to this time no grants had been made, by any of the different proprietors of lands, on the west side of the former; neither had there been any actual survey of the plantation. The town seems to have been without any definite boundaries on the north and the west until six years after its incorporation. In May, 1658, Capt. Brian Pendleton, Capt. Nicholas Shapleigh, and Nicholas Frost were appointed by the general court as commissioners "to pitch and lay out the dividing line between York and Wells from that marked tree, at which, formerly, by mutual consent of those two towns, their bounds were set, and to make return thereof at the next session of the court."

At the May term of the court, in 1659, the commissioners made the following return: "We whose names are underwritten, being appointed by the general court to pitch and lay out the dividing line between the towns of York and Wells, from a marked tree, formerly marked by mutual consent of both towns, and according to our power given us, have determined as followeth: to say the dividing line shall run between the two aforesaid towns, from the above named marked tree up into the country on a straight line unto the southwest side of certain marshes called Totnick marshes, directly



against a certain rock on the northeast side of said marshes, dividing the towns of Kittery and Wells." Dated ye 27th (1) : 58 59.

NICHOLAS SHAPLEIGH.

BRIAN PENDLETON.

<sup>marke</sup>  
NICHOLAS AF FROSTE.

There is no surviving record of the mutual consent here referred to. The records of Robert Boothe, which are supposed to have been a part of those consumed when Bowles' house was burnt, may have contained it. The place of the marked tree is well known. The bound at the northwestern corner between York and Wells is a rock over Baker's Spring. There has been a tradition, though it has now nearly died out, that under this rock one of the regicides of Charles I. concealed himself for several years; but we have no account that more than three of the persons by whom he was sentenced to death escaped to this country, and the hiding places of these have always been well known. Others of this large court may have fled hither, but history furnishes no evidence to that effect. The other boundaries of the town were Kennebunk River on the east or northeast, and a line from that river to Baker's Spring on the northwest, eight miles from the sea. It is doubtful whether the spring, now the received boundary of the town, is the one thus designated. There is no large rock near it, and nothing which we should call marsh land.





## CHAPTER III.

OFFICERS APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSIONERS—FIRST CHURCH IN WELLS—  
NAMES OF MEMBERS, BRIEF SKETCHES OF—CHURCH DISSOLVED BY THE  
COMMISSIONERS.

WELLS having been brought under the dominion of Massachusetts, and invested with all the necessary powers, may now be regarded as a town, and from this time, July 5, 1653, it has continued to exercise these powers without interference from any source. It was well for the people that they were thus compelled to submit. So long as no stable government existed, there could have been no order, and, in consequence, no prosperity.

The commissioners of Massachusetts seem to have been men of decision and energy, manifesting their determination to thoroughly finish the work on which they were sent. They appointed all necessary municipal officers for the town. Henry Boade, Thomas Wheelright, Ezekiel Knight, John Wadleigh, and John Gooch were appointed selectmen, for the management of its prudential affairs, and Joseph Bowles clerk of the writs, or town clerk. Knight was also appointed a grand jurymen for the year ensuing. John Sanders and Jonathan Thing were made sergeants, to exercise the soldiers. They also directed the selectmen to appoint some suitable person to keep an ordinary, which was understood to be something in the nature of a public house, where provision was to be made for hungry and thirsty souls, more especially for the latter. Beer and strong waters were then considered necessary to life in the wilderness.

But the interests of religion, at this period, were paramount to all others, and the commissioners assumed it as a part of their duty, under their commission, to examine into the affairs of the church. Before looking at their action in this respect, it becomes necessary to revert to the ecclesiastical history of the period over which we have passed.



If a history of the church in Wells could be recovered from the oblivion which has come over its early years, so that it could be complete down to the present day, there is reason to believe that it would present matter of deep interest and profitable reflection. Whether in its incipient state any record of its action was kept is unknown. The province of Maine had then no connection with Massachusetts, and there was no law in force setting forth rules for the organization of religious societies, or making provision for the gathering and establishment of churches. Gorges was an Episcopalian; but he made no requisition on the planters as to their religious faith, and so long as the people continued independent of that province, liberty of conscience and of religious action was allowed to every man.

The first church in Wells was instituted by Rev. John Wheelright, who, after his banishment from Massachusetts, went to Exeter, supposing that place to be beyond its jurisdiction. Here he established a church, composed of those who were his companions in the excommunication, and of such others as were disposed to come into the compact. The constitution of this church has not come down to us; but we may well infer that it was based on the views which he had enunciated previously, and in which his associates in banishment had concurred. It was said that in his exposition of revealed truth he had concurred with Mrs. Ann Hutchinson. The positions which she had assumed, and which were so offensive, and which caused her expulsion from Massachusetts, were, "that the Holy Spirit dwells personally in the heart of the true believer, and that a believer was more than a creature." She also taught "that sanctification did not evidence justification." How far Wheelright sympathized with her in these views does not clearly appear. It was declared that he preached doctrines very much like these; but in conversation he did not appear to acknowledge that such phraseology precisely expressed his sentiments in regard to the last. His position was antinomian, not admitting the necessity of good works or a virtuous life. It may be safely stated that his theology did not differ widely from the principles here stated; or rather, we may say, that these principles were material elements of his religious faith. We may, thence, safely conclude that they were an important part of the creed of the church established by him at Exeter. Wheelright and a portion of his church removed to Wells; they, of course,



brought their religious principles with them. We must, then, presume that the constitution of the church here formed by him, being the first Congregational Church in Wells, recognized and embraced these principles: "That a believer is more than a creature; that sanctification does not evidence justification; and that a saving faith does not depend on good works or a virtuous life." We shall not attempt any elucidation of these doctrines. It is not, necessarily, the writer's province to do so; if it was, we should at once abandon the task which we have undertaken. We state what we understand to have been the leading principles in the inauguration of the church; their significancy or explanation we leave for others who have a taste for labor of that description. If the reader's manhood will permit him to indulge in the examination and illustration of these points, he has abundant room for such a diversion. Whether he has time for that purpose is a matter between him and the Infinite. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that Wheelright was generally acknowledged to be an honest and godly man, and if he was, he had the right to organize a church upon the principles which commended themselves to his conscience, and to preach the gospel as he understood it.

Perhaps we err in speaking of the inauguration of the church here. It is presumed that the larger part of the Exeter communion came with Wheelright to Wells. It may, therefore, with more propriety, be said that that church was transferred to Wells. We have no record of any proceedings here in the nature of an installation. Wheelright continued to expound the Scriptures to the same people, who attended his ministration as though no change had taken place.

As more than two hundred years have elapsed since this organization, or transfer, the names of all those who thus constituted this little church in the wilderness cannot now be recovered from the memorials which have survived; but the following were of the number, and may have constituted the entire church: Robert Boothe, William Cole, Edmund Littlefield, Henry Boade, Philemon Porrotte, Edward Rishworth, William Wardell, and William Wentworth. It is said that Nicholas Needham, Edward Hutchinson, and Susanna Hutchinson, the mother of Ann, came also to Wells, and that the mother died here; if so, these, undoubtedly, were members. They were disciples of the minister, subscribing to his exposition of divine truth; but we have not sufficient evidence to satisfy us that





they had any residence in the plantation, and, therefore, do not include them among the founders of the first Christian congregation.

The material of this spiritual edifice was not all sound. There were some members who, in consonance with the doctrine of unrestrained liberty in matters of religion, availed themselves of this privilege, to a large extent, in the intercourse of life. Our knowledge of these men is not very definite. We wish it was much fuller than it is. It would be exceedingly interesting to have before us a full exemplification of the power of the theology, then prevailing, over the lives of its disciples; the living evidence that a believer is more than a creature; or a specimen of the man sanctified and not justified; or of one saved without any of the fruits of salvation.

Of Robert Boothe we have given a brief account in the preceding chapter, suggesting that the theological speculations of the body of Christian believers here did not, probably, comport with his religious views, and that thence he was induced to change his field of labor. He was a man of fair education, and an earnest worker in the vineyard. While in Wells no stain rested on his character. At Saco, he was moved by the Spirit to give utterance to his feelings and religious sentiments when the people were gathered together in the sanctuary for public worship. For this interruption of the regular pulpit exercises he was condemned by those who loved order in the church, and was brought before the court for the misdemeanor; but the court adjudged him not guilty. Being a zealous man, and of the Massachusetts faith, he could not sit still while mischievous error, as he thought, was being inculcated upon the people.

Edmund Littlefield was also a member of the Exeter church. He was there called Edward; so he frequently was here. Edmund and Edward were regarded as the same name. He was the progenitor of the great family of that name in Wells, and perhaps in New England. We shall have occasion hereafter to give a fuller sketch of him than is necessary in this place. We speak of him now in his connection with the church, of which he was an active member and an honorable one. At the present period, we might be disposed to deny his discipleship, from the employment to which he devoted a part of his time. He was a retailer of intoxicating liquors, but duly licensed for that purpose by the proper authorities. His license shows the high respect in which he was held. He was authorized to sell to the Indians to such an extent as he thought for their good.



When so much care and precaution were thought necessary to guard against any troubles with the natives, it affords strong testimony in favor of Littlefield's discretion and moral stability that the sale was submitted entirely to his judgment. The modern doctrine as to the use of intoxicating liquors had not then found a place in Christian morals. A reasonable use of them was recognized by all, as a material aid in the labors of life, or as essential to maintain the vigor of one's constitution, and therefore no discount was to be made from a man's character in consequence of being engaged in the traffic, or because he was accustomed to a moderate indulgence in their use as a drink. When he was appointed, his license was specially honorable to him, as the general court, at the same time, express their abhorrence of the free use of ardent spirits, and even the exceeding sinfulness of the practice, and prohibited the sale by any one else, the object being to restrain and limit the sale and not to extend or aid it. Mr. Littlefield, therefore, must have been regarded as one actuated by sound principles. We think he was a solid member of the church. We have discovered no blemish on his character. He took an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, and did not side with Massachusetts' religious polity, but was somewhat antinomian in his religious views, espousing, of course, the doctrines which expelled Wheelright from Massachusetts. We shall speak of him and of Henry Boade more particularly hereafter.

Edward Rishworth was a prominent man in western Maine at this period. He is frequently called Rushworth, which was the family name in England. He married Susan, daughter of Wheelright, and was with him at Exeter, where he was clerk of the courts. For many years he held important offices in Maine. He was a magistrate of the county, and, we think, superior to most of his associates. He was, likewise, thirteen years representative from York, to which place he removed from Wells, where he was engaged in milling. Having married into the Wheelright family, he shared largely in their religious opinions. The religion and civil polity of Massachusetts found no support in him. He partook very much of the feelings of the father-in-law, though he never was disposed, like him, to succumb to the usurpations of Massachusetts. We have reason to believe that he was of a litigious temperament, and that the spirit of the Gospel and his spirit were not entirely in harmony. He was a party in court when it would have been better for him to be at





home. He suffered small executions to come out against him, indicating indifference to his obligations. We have considered him as obstinate in his feelings, and not such a man as would be likely to do much in building up a substantial church.

Of William Wardell we have before spoken briefly. He was an ignorant and obstinate Christian, having no sympathy with the Puritanism whose wrath he had experienced in his expulsion from Boston, because his religious sentiments, if he had any, were not just what the ruling powers in that city thought they should be. We are very well satisfied that his religious sympathies were not in accordance with any religion known to the church of Christ. He could not write his own name, and we presume had never learned to read. He was thence well fitted to make trouble in the neighborhood. He never was silent when he had occasion to speak of that for which he had no affection. His slanderous and contemptuous speeches to the commissioners, when called upon to sign the submission to Massachusetts, and his prevarication the next day illustrate, very clearly, the kind of religion with which he was animated. Not being accustomed to bridle his tongue, it frequently involved him in difficulty. He was prosecuted for the language which he used to the commissioners and, at another time, for his reply to the inquiry whether he would give anything to the college, "that it was no ordinance of God, and that it was contrary to his judgment." His wife was not what she ought to have been. She was no lover of public worship, and was indicted for not attending meeting on the Sabbath. His imperfect Christianity may have been her work, though we think it most likely that the reverse was the truth. It sometimes requires a good wife to keep a man straight in his religion, but very frequently her defection is owing to his irreligious deportment. As to Wardell, we do not think he was a very good Christian.

Of William Cole our knowledge is very imperfect. He came from Exeter, where he had twelve acres and sixty rods assigned to him, as one of the combination. We have not succeeded in obtaining any material information as to his character. He was evidently a quiet and peaceable man, avoiding all controversies and troubles with his neighbors, and we are glad to give him the benefit of the old maxim, that all men are to be presumed to be of sound morals until the presumption is proved erroneous. He followed Wheelwright to Hampton, and there died May 26, 1662, in his eighty-second year.



Of Pormotte and William Wentworth we have before written. The former, we think, must have left the place at the time when the commissioners were in Wells. He did not sign the submission, and no one living in Wells could have avoided doing so without subjecting himself to prosecution. Wentworth may have left two or three years before.

We have not included Ezekiel Knight in the list of the members of this church. He was a Christian of the Massachusetts stamp, and we are not sure that any of that religion had fellowship with it. Boothe was plainly not a sympathizer with antinomianism when he went to Saco, but the controversy in the church at Wells possibly changed his theology; it may have been so with Knight.

The foregoing is as complete an account of the individuals of this church, at the time the Massachusetts commissioners came to bring Maine into subjection, as we are able to give. We are inclined to the opinion that the materials, as a whole, were as sound as those which constituted other churches in the land. The band was a small one, but still as large as could be expected from the small number of inhabitants then commorant here. We know not what females had come into the union, but it is a fair presumption that the number equaled that of the males; it is seldom a church is found in this country where the former do not outnumber the latter. But we have much reason to believe that it was a doctrinal, and not a spiritual, church. Wheelright, though uncommonly versed in Biblical knowledge, and deep-rooted and grounded in the Christian faith, and animated with the spirit of the Master, had just been transferred from the Episcopal hierarchy of England to the enjoyment, as he supposed, of unrestrained Christian liberty. As is natural to religious men, he had meditated deeply on the various questions which must present themselves to the mind of one who endeavors to understand fully his relationship to the earth, where he is, and to the unknown future, to which he constantly tends. These meditations will always suggest questions which become of deep interest, some of which are so magnified by frequent and intense thought as to absorb all the powers of the soul. He had been led to feel that certain doctrinal deductions, from the words of Christ, but more from the conclusions of untrammelled reason, were necessary, and should be made material parts of a true and faithful ministration. Opposition only gave additional strength to his convictions, so that he began to





feel, as did the apostle, that woe was in store for him if he preached not these truths which presented themselves to his mind as of divine inspiration. Such is the tendency, almost invariably, of the early Christian life. The disciples are led to feel that the doctrines of those with whom they are brought into fellowship are all-important, and that those who do not assent to them must, necessarily, be out of the kingdom, forgetting the great rule of Christian life and intercourse laid down by the Master, that true religion is of the spirit and indicated by the fruits of life. Churches built on any other foundation than this cannot stand. No theological speculations can ever make a true man. Any religious institution founded on principles other than practical righteousness has in it nothing which can guarantee its peace, usefulness, and perpetuity. The true Christian church alone is eternal.

After the commissioners had finished the work, specially assigned them, of bringing the inhabitants of Wells to acknowledge and submit to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they turned their attention to other matters having relation to the peace and welfare of the settlers. They had before understood that discord and confusion were universal; that the church had destroyed all harmony and good feeling. Some members believed one thing and some another; some were partially Episcopalian; some of the Wheelright school, and others of the Massachusetts faith; whether any of them were of Puritanic sentiments we do not know. After John Wheelright left them there was no controlling head, and we may well presume that his tergiversation raised up a new subject of discord. Some, possibly, thought his acknowledgment and repentance were right and justifiable; others thought them as rather derogating from his character, and betraying the principles for which they had made so great sacrifices. But all the trouble arose from the malformation of the church, in building it of materials which had nothing solid and enduring. What was there in the speculation that a believer was more than a creature, or that sanctification is no evidence of justification, or that saving faith does not depend on a virtuous life, to bind a society together and sustain a living piety in the hearts of its members? There is nothing like religious differences, with some persons, to produce wrangling and ill feeling. Men, and especially the ignorant, are very unwilling to doubt the validity of their own opinions, and to think that others may be right while they are





wrong. If this division in the church had not extended beyond its borders, it might not have been so prolific of evil; but the inhabitants took sides according to their own religious proclivities. It was admitted before the commissioners that the discord which prevailed in the town was principally owing to those who claimed to be of the church, and they did not, therefore, feel that they had discharged their duty till they had taken effectual measures to quell the disturbances, by looking into the condition of the church, and taking such measures in relation to it as the good of the people might require. On making this examination, they ascertained that most of the members had dissolved their connection or been expelled, so that now there were only three members, and these were determined to hold on and claim to be the church. Those who had made the disturbance seem to have been Boade, Edmund Littlefield, and William Wardell. The commissioners had dismissed Pormotte and Wardell, at their own request, and they also notified Boade and Littlefield that their connection with the church was dissolved. Which of these four claimed to be the church, by the obscurity of the record, we cannot determine. The commissioners, in their return, alleged there were but three remaining members. Pormotte and Wardell had become wearied or disgusted with the state of affairs, and therefore chose to withdraw; but Littlefield and Boade chose to maintain their church relation. The commissioners ordered it to be dissolved, and thus, as we understand the posture of affairs, the whole church was dissolved. Where these commissioners obtained the authority for this act we know not. There is no precedent for it in our ecclesiastical history. We should judge an order of Massachusetts commissioners, dismissing members or dissolving a church, about as effectual as a license of the selectmen to sell intoxicating liquors would be at the bar of God.

We suppose that the principal reason for this procedure was that the opponents of the ruling theology of Massachusetts had the ascendancy in the church. We believe that the four whose names are mentioned were in that position. But, whatever the cause, they based their action entirely on the ground that it was necessary for the peace of the people, and directed these men to hold their tongues and give themselves to some other business more conducive to their peace and well-being, adding, if they did not, they should bear witness against them. And so ends the first church in Wells.



The instruction derived from this history is that ignorant men had better confine themselves to the Christian life, and not undertake to discuss matters of theology which they do not understand, and thus excite a spirit of strife and ill-will where nothing should prevail but harmony and mutual love. A man who is enthusiastic in doctrine is seldom so in Christian duty. What a sad fact in history is it that these few men in the wilderness could not dwell together in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace, when mutual and friendly support and the joys of Christian intercourse were so necessary for them in their new and solitary condition! What was it to Littlefield if Pormotte thought a believer was more than a creature, or that sanctification did not evidence justification? Or, why should Boade's soul have been vexed if Wardell loved the rites and forms of Episcopacy? How much better it would have been to have loved one another in their differences, and so have fulfilled the law of Christ and made themselves a happy community, than to have permitted the church to be torn and rent asunder by these unchristian wranglings about modes of faith and matters which have no tendency to lift up the soul, and make man worthy his noble and holy parentage.





## CHAPTER IV.

SUBMISSION OF CAPE PORPOISE AND SACO TO MASSACHUSETTS—FIRST ROAD LAID OUT IN WELLS—FERRY OVER KENNEBUNK RIVER—WM. REYNOLDS—FIRST HOUSES IN WELLS—SCARCITY OF CORN—LITTLEFIELD'S MILLS—FIRST SETTLERS IN WELLS—WHEELRIGHT'S MILL—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

THE commissioners, having finished their business with the inhabitants of Wells, required those of Cape Porpoise and Saco to come before them and signify their submission. The people of the former place do not appear to have manifested any opposition to the surrender, but those of Saco were more persistent in their resistance to the assumption of Massachusetts. Some of them refused to come to any terms with the court, feeling that they had no authority, whatever, over their persons or estates. Sixteen persons came in and signed the submission. Saco and Biddeford were then one town or plantation.

The inhabitants of these places having thus been peaceably brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the court, desiring to improve their condition and make their union with Massachusetts more acceptable, adopted measures for making communication between the towns more convenient and expeditious. At this time between two and three days were allowed for travel from Cape Porpoise, now Kennebunkport, to York. The beach was the only road to which the people could resort for this purpose. This was a very uncertain way, in consequence of the tides, and the forests through which one must pass where there was no beach. The court, therefore, ordered the towns of Wells, Cape Porpoise and Saco "to make sufficient highways in their town, from house to house, cleare and fitt for foot and cart, before the next Court of the County, under the penalty of ten pounds for every towne defect in this particular, and that they lay out a sufficient highway for horse and foot between towne and towne within that time." This was the first road laid out in the town of Wells. We have no return of its location, but sup-



pose that the present main road through the village constituted a part of it. That the road might fully answer its purpose, they ordered a ferry to be established at the mouth of Kennebunk river. Travelers had been in the habit of wading across at what has ever since been called the wading-place. There was no bridge near the sea until the one now standing, which was built within the century. William Reynolds was appointed or allowed to be ferryman, and to receive three pence a passenger. He had already assumed the business, the court having ordered in 1647 that he should have two hundred acres of land as an encouragement to carry it on. He lived on the Cape Porpoise side of the river, near its mouth; and Bradbury says this two hundred acres embraced the territory of the village of Kennebunkport. The court, in their order, do not say from whom this lot was to come. As it was located in Cape Porpoise it was granted probably by the proprietor of Lygonia, or by the proprietors of that plantation.

These orders of court, it will be seen, make no mention of carriages. It was many years before anything of that description found its way into the town.

We have endeavored to give some account of those who inhabited here at the time of the incorporation of the town. Before advancing further in this history, we must finish up the work which we have left behind giving, as far as we are able, a brief statement of what has been done by the settlers. Who was the first white man who here laid the axe to the tree, for the purpose of providing for himself a fixed habitation, we have been unable to learn. It would not seem reasonable to suppose that any one man would have had the resolution to come and seat himself alone here in the wilderness. One whose temperament would have led him to such a decision, would not be likely to bring any great energy to the work of subduing the wilderness. Solitude has no tendency to make one active and vigorous. The mind needs to be in contact and associated with mind, to inspire it with courage and animation and impel it to zealous exertion. We have been led to the conclusion that several persons must have established themselves here before Wheelright and his fellow-refugees come from Exeter. Previously to this period there was no regular road in any part of the town. When the pioneers came into the wilderness it was regarded as material, that sites for habitation should be selected where the least work would be required for the





purpose. They built where there were the fewest trees to be felled, and where there were meadows and marshes for the readiest supply of food for whatever animals they might be able to obtain. They had no markets to which they could resort, and no other families on which they could rely for the supply of their wants. The sea and the flats were important adjuncts to every homestead. Accordingly, the first houses in Wells were built near the site of the new Island Ledge House, on or about Drake's Island, and on the land between that and Little river. Ezekiel Knight, John Cross, Stephen Batson, Henry Boade, George Raboune and Edward Rishworth located themselves in this vicinity. John Sanders lived on the eastern side of Little river, on land now owned by Henry C. Hart. One would suppose that life here at that time would not have been very congenial to civilized man; there would seem to have been nothing to impart to it even endurability. The year 1643 was very unfavorable for the initiation, or progress of a settlement. Those whom we have named were here before that time. This year the earth was very niggardly in her increase, and there was a great scarcity of corn throughout the land; but these men persevered in maintaining their ground. Ezekiel Knight was not the man to be moved from his resolution by mere inconveniences or inadequate supplies. If his life could be renewed now with the fresh memories of his pilgrimage on this spot, he could address himself with power, and give useful instruction to the fast young men and women of the present day, who are not easily satisfied with the abundance which flows in upon them from every quarter. Having no roads, they had no communication except with York, to which place the journey of a day was to be performed, over any ground where the horse could find a track, or wherever men could pick their way.

At the southwesterly end of the plantation Edmund Littlefield had built a saw-mill and a grist-mill. From this some kinds of lumber were obtained for their buildings. As has been the case in all new towns since the country was settled, it may well be supposed that their houses were built principally of logs, cemented by clay; but with their magnificent fireplaces, and an unlimited amount of fuel, needing to be got rid of, the inmates amidst the cold and storms of earth found as much physical comfort as is enjoyed in the palaces of modern times, and perhaps as much real happiness ruled within as is now found in our richest mansions. Wealth is not satisfaction.





Abundance does not insure contentment. Physical appliances and indulgencies make no heaven upon earth. Poor as Ezekiel Knight and his comrades were, enjoyment was no stranger to their dwellings. The few settlers about Drake's Island were obliged to work hard for even a very meagre fare. Whatever lumber they could obtain from Littlefield's mill, may have been transported by rafting down the river; but how they obtained other articles, which seem to be indispensable for building and for the support of life, tradition furnishes no answer. These families had never been favored with the privileges of education, so material to a happy and quiet life. We suppose Rishworth may have had the benefit of early instruction, but we can cherish no such presumption in regard to the other settlers. It is strange that Knight, who claimed to be a religious man, should not have given to his family at least the rudiments of education. He was probably able to read the Bible. Though they had no access to schools, they might have been instructed to read and write; but even his own wife was unable to write her name. To be sure, they were without books to employ what little leisure time they were permitted to enjoy, but we cannot comprehend the feelings of a christian who can calmly permit his children to grow up in ignorance when it was in his own power to impart to them the instruction necessary to fit them for the ordinary intercourse and business of life. Most of the people here, we think, were very much of Wardell's opinion; who, when asked to give something to the college, replied, that it was "no ordinance of God and contrary to his judgment." There appears to have been among the most enlightened of the inhabitants, an almost universal indifference upon the subject of education.

We have stated that it is now too late to obtain any clear evidence, decisive of the question, who was the first actual settler in Wells; but so far as we have been able to examine that matter, we are led to think that Edmund Littlefield has the precedence. We have seen no evidence that any other man had, previously to 1641, made any attempt to settle here. Though he was of the Exeter church, he came to Wells before the body of believers there thought of removing, and finding this mill privilege at the falls of the Webhannet river, close by the marsh or open ground, where lumber could be transported by water, he concluded to appropriate it and try his fortune in the lumber business. Though there were a good many other sites,



far superior as privileges, yet they were not accessible for the purposes of a saw-mill when the forests all around were in their native wildness. For this reason the falls at Ogunquit, and of the small brook, lately occupied by William Gooch, and of the Little river, were selected as privileges as soon as any persons came here to inhabit, though the valuable situations farther interior were for many years neglected. Littlefield's mills were built not far from the site of the steam saw-mill now owned by Buffam; and his house on the Eastern side of the river, where stood the house of the late Benjamin Littlefield, who was a great-grandson of Edmund. We may with safety assert that this was the first house on the main traveled road. There may have been small houses for merely temporary purposes erected on the seawall.

Rev. John Wheelright, in 1642 or 1643, built a small house near the site of the dwelling of the late John Rankin. It may reasonably be supposed that Littlefield's successful location of himself and family, and his favorable descriptions of the neighboring territory, induced Wheelright to seek a home in the vicinity. Those who first settled here seem to have regarded mill privileges as of prime importance, and a source of profitable income. There was no other source of immediate profit; Wheelright accordingly seized upon the brook near his house as the only remaining one where the enterprise of a saw-mill could be attempted. We think Ogunquit Falls was already in some way secured by Littlefield, as his son John soon after was in the possession of it, and the mill is referred to in some instrument before this time. We know that Wheelright petitioned to Gorges for a grant of the land adjoining Ogunquit, and that the Wheelright farm embraced what was called the neck between the Ogunquit and the town river, and that he had a suit against John Littlefield in relation to the mill here, a few years afterwards, perhaps contesting his right to the privilege. Wheelright built a saw-mill on the brook, we suppose, in 1642 or 1643, as he left Wells the last of 1645 or in 1646. His daughter says she lived in the house with his grandson two years, about 1647, and the saw-mill was then standing there. His son, Samuel, lived on the farm called the neck, between the Ogunquit and town river. His house stood near the site of the house of the late Noah M. Littlefield. This was the great Wheelright farm, which was deeded to Rev. John Wheelright by Thomas Gorges, one-half of that farm having been conveyed to





Samuel by his father. Thomas, also a son of Rev. John, set out to build a house on the other part of the farm, and made some progress in the work. He was then anticipating the bright day when he should be a participant in the closest of human fellowships; when the endearments of love would come home with their cheery influences to his soul, and in their snug little home he and the partner of his joys would go on their way rejoicing; but then, as now, it was not an uncommon occurrence, for love as well as money, to take to itself wings and fly away. His beloved was not his as he had felt sure. Her affections wandered away to fasten on some other more congenial object, and Thomas was bereft of all his bright hopes. His soul withered under the crushing blight, and never again so renewed its vigor that he had any aspirations for conjugal life. He abandoned the work which he had begun and finished up the remainder of life's pilgrimage alone, leaving behind him no mementos of his earthly existence. The cellar, which may now be seen, still bears the name "Thomas' cellar."

We suppose there must have been other houses here beside that of Samuel Wheelright. William Hammond built a house near where John S. Littlefield now lives, and we are not certain that John Cross resided at Drake's Island. So obscure are the descriptions of this early period, that if we had not other explanatory testimony, we could not be positive as to the residence of any of the settlers; but the order of the court of Dec. 10, 1651, uniting the Wheelright farm and Cape Neddock, seems to imply that there were several houses here.

John Wheelright continued in Wells but two or three years; but as he is regarded by many as the founder of the plantation, we have thought that some concise account of his previous history, especially of that which induced his resort to Wells, might not be inappropriate or uninteresting. Though all have heard of him, and have had some very imperfect ideas of his previous relations to the people of Massachusetts, very few have had the opportunity of learning the reasons of his expulsion from that State.

Massachusetts did not have its birth in Puritanism. Those who laid the foundation of that Commonwealth were men of widely different temperament from those of Plymouth, who abandoned their homes beyond the waters entirely from the impulses of religious liberty; from a conviction of the right of free thought and accordant



free moral action. These Massachusetts pioneers, however, instructed in Christian morality, and imbued with the spirit, were moved to emigration from motives of less noble character, not widely different from those which rule the world at the present day. They were remarkable for that selfishness and conceit which aim at magnifying one's own importance, and assuming all that is valuable of thought, opinion and religion. They had imbibed certain views in theology, which they believed were the sure and only therapeutics whereby the soul was to be healed from the diseases of sin, and fitted to enjoy the privileges of their association. Assumed infallibility never permits itself to be questioned or inquires as to the validity of its foundation.

Rev. John Wheelright came to this country in 1636. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, said to be his sister, preceded him, and being gifted with those endowments which fit one for public declamation, she exercised her faculties in exhortations to the people as to their religious obligations. As is natural to people of that class, by their too much speaking, she was probably every day uttering some crude and unconsidered thoughts to the multitude who thronged to hear her. Winthrop says she inculcated two dangerous errors: "That the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person, and that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification." It is difficult to perceive how the spiritual or civil welfare of a people is hazarded by the first, or how any rational man or woman should give utterance to the second. But it was said that Wheelright, who had been a silenced minister in England, adopted and preached the same errors. Being of the same family, it is very likely they did not differ widely in their religious views. He was admitted to the Boston church the year of his arrival. The court had appointed a fast on the 19th of February following and on that day Wheelright preached a discourse which produced great dissatisfaction, resulting in an excitement in which it was said that he "inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works," as he described it to be, viz.: such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, and called them anti-Christ, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency."

This sermon contains nothing which could justify any judicial proceedings against him. Its positions do not vary materially from sentiments which are freely uttered from the pulpit at the present





day; but he was required to make his appearance before the general court to answer to the assumed offence. The result was, that he was declared guilty of contempt and sedition, and on such conviction he was sentenced to be disfranchised and banished, fourteen days being allowed him to settle up his affairs and depart out of the jurisdiction. Being in the winter season, and the wilderness east or west of Boston being but slightly subdued, it must have been with him a question of no small difficulty which way he should flee; but he determined on Piscataqua as his refuge. Thither he succeeded in reaching, though "it was marvellous he got there by reason of the deep snow in which he might have perished." He was not the only person banished at this time, but others were driven from the colony merely for sustaining the positions of his sermon and sympathizing with him in his religious views, and among these were some of the members of the court. Governor Vane objected to all these proceedings, yet his opposition was without avail. Wheelright established himself at Exeter, taking possession of a tract of land under his Indian deed. With several others who were the companions of his banishment, he laid the foundation of that town. Here he preached the gospel to great acceptance four or five years, when Massachusetts having assumed the position that this place was within the jurisdiction of that colony, he was compelled to remove further eastward. A few of his strong friends then made application to Thomas Gorges for an assignment of a tract of land within his province at Wells.

No better man could have been selected to begin the enterprise of clearing the wilderness, and introducing the blessings of civilization. He had been educated at the University and was a trained man, qualified with all the necessary science for a skilfull pioneer in these great objects. He was, withal, a man able to handle the axe and do his part in the physical labor needed to bring the wilds into subjection to the service of man. He possessed a muscular, athletic organism adequate to any work. He had Oliver Cromwell as a companion at the University, and the latter used to say that he never had so much fear in front of an army as he had of Wheelright when they were together at the institution. He was a distinguished wrestler; and Cromwell always felt himself in danger of his kicks when playing with him at foot-ball. The probability is that he entered on his work at Wells with a strong and determined hand, and that the





land was soon made to minister to his necessities. But this seclusion from the activities of more extensive communities failed to satisfy his aspirations. He preached the gospel here to a very small congregation. He soon tired, we have reason to think, both of his physical and ministerial labors in Wells. There was at that time but little intercourse with the other settlements. It was seldom that one could visit places as far distant as Boston. There was no regularly located way, and the business of coasting had not yet commenced; it was many years before vessels entered any of the harbors. Educated as Wheelright had been amid an extended civilization, and eager to have a part in its movements, it is not strange that he should soon tire of the monotony of this secluded agricultural life. But it is strange that he should permit this desire for a change of location to overrule his self-respect, and lead him to demean himself by making confession to his persecutors of error in his teachings, especially when his ministrations had had the approval and support of some of the best of those who had knowledge of his theology; some of whom had shared with him in his fortunes. Such a confession must have come with a sad influence to the house of his friends. There is nothing more mortifying than the secession of one who has been an earnest defender of principles which have always commended themselves to his supporters as sound, and to which they have given a hearty support. And such a renunciation is doubly sad when the seceder confesses himself in his utterances to have been moved by the instigation of the devil. We cannot but feel that such a departure is treason to the interests of truth. The motives which led him to confess his errors, are not clearly apparent. If his conscience convicted him of error in the positions on which his expulsion was based, his professed repentance and acknowledgment of wrong were commendable. It is always wise to abandon error.

Mr. Vane had ceased to be governor, and John Winthrop was his successor in office; and after only a two years' residence in Wells, Wheelright addressed to him two letters, the first of which, dated Wells (7) 10, 43, is taken from Winthrop's History, and is as follows: "Right Worshipful. Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the Reverend elders and me in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature and consequence as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations, and



mine own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement, contentions raised thereabouts to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or of any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices, though I intended no such thing; and that in the synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honored State. If it shall appear to me by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word, writing or action, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction; thus hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly take leave of your worship, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty; and ever remain your worships in all service to be commanded in the Lord. J. WHEELRIGHT."

It seems almost incredible that a man of sound moral principle, and of vigorous intellect, should thus fawningly have sought to restore himself to the favor of a bigotry which has had but few counterparts in history; and especially that in preaching the gospel from the fullness of his heart, he should have admitted himself to have been instigated by the wiles of the devil. John Wheelright, we cannot but think, was more honest in his first ministrations in Boston than he was in the recantation. By most of the good and worthy he had been regarded as a faithful disciple; an effective laborer in Christ's kingdom; but this subterfuge to get back to Boston, by ascribing his previous Christian zeal to the inspiration of Satan, posterity will not regard as giving him a desirable consolidation of character. It answered his purpose, and at the court in 1644, it was "ordered that Mr. Wheelright, upon a particular solemn, and serious acknowledgment and confession by letters, of his evil carriage, and of the court's justice upon him, hath his banishment taken off and is received in as a member of the Commonwealth."

How much more honorable to him it would have been to have maintained the positions which he had assumed before his expulsion,





and to have said to his persecutors, if I have committed sedition, then I ought to suffer for my offence. But assured that I have not, if you proceed against me I shall appeal to the king. I shall retract nothing. He had had the support of sixty worthy men, who affiliated with him in his religious teachings. Some of these had been banished, some disfranchised; and all had been deprived of their arms, on the pretense that they might use them in a rebellion. In penning this letter he should have remembered his brethren, who, for conscience sake, had suffered an adversity like his own; not one of whom so demeaned himself as to renounce his faith, and beg for liberty to come back to Massachusetts.

But still John Wheelright is to be held in reverence and respect. What life has not been marked with error? He misjudged wherein he had been led astray by the machinations of the devil. Out of the abundance of a true heart he had preached Christ; but the desolation and labors of the wilderness; the longings for the associations which had been the comfort and joy of his spirit, and the strong desire which he had for larger sympathies and a more congenial companionship, waked up these impulses for a return to Boston. When one preaches the gospel from the convictions of conscience and of the understanding, the devil will have no agency in inspiring his enunciations. It is only when he wilfully attempts to pervert it and lead men astray, that he can have satanic aid. He undoubtedly did much good by the liberty which he exercised before and after his banishment, in boldly speaking his own thoughts, much to the discomfiture of a bigotry which, more than any other cause, has been a stumbling block in the progress of a heavenly kingdom. Some of his views are too ridiculous to find acceptance with the intelligence of the present age. But they were the dictates of his heart, and he boldly uttered them, transmitting to us an example of fearlessness in the discharge of duty in the midst of an iron bigotry, worthy the adoption of every citizen who would fulfill the purposes of his earthly mission.

John Wheelright's pioneer life in Wells, will be seen in the course of this history, was not without important benefit to those who succeeded him. He came here, bringing with him courageous men to assist in starting the plantation. He soon opened the way for other settlers. He consecrated the soil to liberty of opinion; freedom to worship God according to the convictions of one's own understand-



ing, and to the right of private judgment on all questions of religious duty and Christian truth.

Here also he laid the foundation of a family, whose action has been fruitful of much good to the town. He left sons whose energies were instrumental in building it up, and giving it a respectable and influential position in the public councils; men whose services were of immense benefit in those early days, when souls were exposed to the most severe tests of a true citizenship. The present generation have not, as they ought, studied the history of the worthy men of the first century of the town's existence, and one principal object of this history is to rescue from oblivion the names of some of them whose memory should never fade from the minds of those who have "entered into their labors."

As before stated, we have recognized Wheelright as initiating the settlement, because tradition has generally ascribed the work to him, but no surviving record seems to justify that conclusion. He was in Wells only between two and three years. Some of the Exeter combination were here before him, and remained during life. Hutchinson and Needham came to Wells, and applied to Gorges for a grant. Wheelright was not named in the application. Afterwards Wheelright, Rishworth and Boade were appointed agents for laying out the plantation and assigning lots. Wheelright continued here only a year afterwards. Scarcely an act of his appears in any surviving record. His biography has been given to the public so frequently, that we deem it unnecessary to extend this sketch any further.



## CHAPTER V.

OPPOSITION TO JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS—PETITION TO OLIVER CROMWELL—INDICTMENTS—LAWS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS OPINION—ORDER FOR ERECTION OF JAIL—FIRST COUNTY TAX IN WELLS—MILITIA ORGANIZED—REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE CLAIM OF MASSACHUSETTS—AGENT SENT OVER BY HEIR OF GORGES—COUNCIL APPOINTED—DEMAND OF MASSACHUSETTS UPON COUNCILORS—THEIR REPLY—GENERAL COURT HELD AT LITTLEFIELD'S HOUSE—POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS—INDICTMENTS—ORDER OF KING CHARLES—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY HIM—PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF CASCO—COURT HELD AT SACO UNDER AUTHORITY OF KING'S COMMISSIONERS—FAST DAY APPOINTED—COURT HELD AT YORK BY COMMISSIONERS OF MASSACHUSETTS—CONFERENCE OF THE TWO BOARDS OF COMMISSIONERS—CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM—THOMAS WHEELRIGHT'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR—PETITION TO THE GENERAL COURT—WELLS MADE A SHIRE TOWN.

THE history of Wells, during the fifteen years following its incorporation, is almost entirely embraced in its political and ecclesiastical action. The attention of the people was so absorbed in matters of general concern that but little progress was made by individuals, in their agricultural interests, or in any branch of business. The great questions, whose subjects were they? who were the lawful proprietors of the town? were not settled satisfactorily to many of them; the troubles in the church also interfered very much with the welfare and growth of the settlement.

When Massachusetts had subjugated the several towns and plantations in Maine to her government, it was supposed that tranquility would be restored, and that the people would be content under the administration of that colony; but there can be no well grounded assurance of peace when an abiding sense of wrong has fastened itself on the popular mind. Massachusetts seems to have had full confidence that a large majority of the settlers were, or would be, gratified in the extension of her jurisdiction over them. Edward





Rishworth, who, perhaps, may be regarded as prominent among the settlers for intellectual ability, a short time after the submission, wrote to Governor Endicott that the best part, if not the greatest part, of those who subscribed the submission were very ready to comply with the new state of things, and quietly acquiesce in the authority of Massachusetts. This letter, we suppose, inspired the confidence in that colony as to the peaceful settlement of the question of jurisdiction; but it is very doubtful whether the statement of Rishworth was well founded. It is certain that there were many persons of influence who had no sympathy for that government, and who acted under the conviction that its assumed authority was an unwarrantable usurpation. Such men would never heartily give their assent to its rule. People were not made loyal by the compulsory act of submission. In the town of Saco, there were strong men who had no disposition to yield the rights which they had under the Gorges or Rigby charter. Cleaves, Joscelyn, Bonythan, Jordan, and others were determined to resist. We suppose that those inhabitants of Wells who did not take part in the action to establish the jurisdiction of that colony over Maine are to be regarded as opposed to the procedure. The advocates of the Massachusetts claim forwarded a petition to "Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland," setting forth the reasons why they would have the government of that colony continued over them. One cannot read this petition without interest, but its length precludes us from copying it entire. We select some of the salient portions of it, exhibiting the reasons for their preference.

"1st. Because of ourselves, we have small power to carry on government, being a people but few in number, and those not competent persons to manage weighty affairs, our weakness occasioning distraction, our paucity, division, our meanness, contempt, as our former experience hath fully evinced, to the subverting of all civil order amongst us.

"2dly. Because changes cannot reduce things from impossibilities, to make things of such as are not, to be. The case is ours; the places of our residence admit of but small enlargement; the generality of the country from us eastward is so confusedly taken up, being of sterill lands, swamps, and rocky mountaynes, as not more than a few shreds are left by the seashore fitt for Cohabitation, and these already populated by an inconsiderate number of people.



How ye wisest of such can settle a well governed Commonweale upon such basis we leave to your wisdom to judge.

"3dly. Because changes in these times may prove dangerous, where discontented spirits wait for such opportunities, which have not been the least part of that small number amongst us, who were professed Royalists, whose breathings that way since our subjecting to their authoritie have been so farre stifled as that ye activitie of such spirits cannot find any or the least opportunity of motion.

"4thly. Changing may throw us back into our former estate, to live under negligent masters, ye danger of a confused anarchy, and such other inconveniences as may make us a fitt shelter for ye worst of men, delinquents and ill affected persons, to make their resort unto, thereby to exempt themselves from justly deserved punishment.

"5thly. Changes are apt to Innihilate, unlesse they prove much for the better, especially in weak bodyes, where heads are farr remote; touching such events our former experience hath taught us something else we crave of those gentlemen who are now so solicitous for government over us. What meant the deepnesse of their silence several years, both in their tongues and penns, as not after our frequency of writing to them, they not so much as return us one syllable of answer, or afford us the least assistance in government, the want thereof let us sink into great distractions; for our recovery thence several among us petitioned for government under ye colony of ye Mass, who after some debate with us, and confirmation of some articles of agreement to us, took us under their authoritie, unto which we subjected ourselves, under whose protection to continue we account it not the least part of our securitie and happiness.

"Our humble request, therefore, is that your goodnesse would favor our reasonable entreaties, whose weakness calls for support, our manners for some strictness of rule, whose distractions for some present settlement," etc.

This petition was signed by the following persons: Samuel Austin, John Barret, sen., Henry Boade, John West, Edward Rishworth, Ezekiel Knight, William Hamman, Nicholas Cole, John Gooch, sen., John Gooch, jr., William Symons, Joseph Emerson, Thomas Wheelright, Phillip Hatch, and Robert Wadleigh.

The remainder of the inhabitants of the town, being about one-half, we think, did not concur in the matter of this petition, but were opposed entirely to Massachusetts rule. This opposition in-





cluded all the Littlefields, Bolles, Thinge, Miles or Mills, John Wadleigh, Sanders, White, Bush, Wardell, John Barret, jr., and William Cole.

Having brought the principal part of the settlers into subjection, the government of Massachusetts put forth all necessary strength to maintain their authority over this province. The court ordered Jordan and Joscelyn to be arrested for their opposition, and finding no means of escape, they came into court and submitted; so also did Bonython. But this submission, being involuntary, was of no effect in quieting the opposition. The spirit of the opponents was in no degree changed. Strong feelings were engendered on both sides, and, as is invariably the case with excited, ignorant men, they were ready in their exasperation to harrass and vex each other in every possible way, but especially through the aid of judicial proceedings. In 1653, George Cleaves was presented for denying to vote for magistrates, and for saying "if the people would vote for Miss Clark to be a witch he would vote."

William Wardell was presented "for casting an aspersion on the magistrates of the bay, as namely, upon those worthiest gentlemen, the commissioners, which were at Wells, in saying that the messenger that brought the letter to Wells said in it was contained a prohibition restraining all transactions by any by virtue of their church estate, was begged of the gentlemen by the messenger, Jonathan Thinge, that brought it."

Jonathan Thinge was presented "for a common disturber of order, obstructing of the peace of the town of Wells at their town meetings and upon other occasions."

He was also presented for "speaking discomfully of the court at York, saying, no question but you may cast any cause at the court at York so long as Harry, the coachman, sits judge." "The said Thinge slighted the government in saying he cared not what the governor said, nor never a governor in the country." Edmund Littlefield was presented for putting in a vote for one of his sons without his consent. The feeling upon the question who should rule over them had become so intensified, it is highly probable, that most of the criminal prosecutions before the court had their origin in this exasperation.

It will be seen that there was then no respect of persons, in the midst of the excitement growing out of their political condition, or



their social and civil relationships. Hugh Gunnison, who was the representative of Wells, and Mrs. Bachelor, who was the wife of the minister of York, were indicted for offences. Others, who were men of influence, were complained of for misdemeanors. The political difficulties of the people were somewhat enhanced by the theological notions which prevailed. The general court, in 1653, had undertaken to legislate very freely in regard to the religious belief and action of the people. In that colony no man had the right of suffrage who was not a member of the church. In Maine such membership had not been necessary. But though the people of Maine, who signed the submission, were, at the same time, made freemen, with the right of voting, the laws of Massachusetts were so repugnant to their religious sentiments that this modification of law, in its application to Maine, did not go far in quelling the dissensions previously existing. Other legislation was not less offensive. It attempted to control the religious views of the settlers by severe enactments against freedom of opinion, and thus to declare that "to affirm that a man is justified by his own works, and not by Christ's righteousness, or to deny the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the authority of the fourth commandment, or the authority of magistracy, should be heresy, and the person maintaining views adverse to this declaration could not be admitted to the church, and therefore had not the right of suffrage. Baptists, also, denying the validity of infant baptism, were declared incendiaries in the church and State. Some few persons in Wells, of course, would not brook such an assumption on the part of the government, and they would be ready to fan the flame of discord, and do anything to augment the disaffection to this new state of things. As a whole, real religion did not have a very strong hold on the affections of the people of Maine. The inhabitants of Kittery, theretofore Episcopalian, after submission to Massachusetts, went over to Congregationalism. A religion so readily laid aside, while another is substituted by law, would not do much for peace. Those who were heartily loyal to the new government, of course, were not looked up to with much favor by its opponents. The bad spirit of the hour was manifested on all occasions; in the courts, in the church, town-meetings, and wherever men gathered together. Such disunion was not favorable to progress; but the courts and the administration exercised their authority in the adoption of measures to promote the settle-





ment of the province, providing for convenient ways and other public necessities. The boundaries of the town had not yet been fully settled. A jail was ordered to be erected for the benefit of the county. The tax assessed for this and other county expenses, in 1654, was £91.15. Thirteen pounds and ten cents were assigned to Wells. This was the first county tax which the town was required to pay. The militia was also organized, and a company established in Wells. Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, was appointed commander of the whole.

But to many of the people the subsisting government was not acceptable. Godfrey, though he finally signed the submission, was inveterate in his opposition to it. He went to England, and there labored assiduously that Massachusetts might be divested of her jurisdiction and the province be restored to the heirs of Gorges; and in 1661, a committee of the Parliament reported adversely to the claim of Massachusetts. This was a source of much joy to those discontented with their political relations with that government. The religious attachments, as before suggested, bore an important part in the maintainance of the discord which prevailed so much to the injury of the general welfare. The opponents of Massachusetts were generally Episcopalians, maintaining their loyalty to the church of England. Edmund Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, Boade, Pormotte, and others, as before named, were of this class. The opposition to Massachusetts was so strong that the town, in 1662, would send no representative to the general court. Ferdinando Gorges had deceased, but his heir persevered in his endeavors to recover his right to the province, and so succeeded in his purposes that an agent was sent over in 1662, who here invested various persons with official authority. The contention in the town received new impulse from this turn of affairs in England. A council of twelve persons was appointed, of which Joseph Bowles and Edward Rishworth were two, and Gorges assumed the government of the province. The commissioners of Massachusetts called on these councilors to return to their obedience; but Joscelyn, one of the council, replied that they were "ready to give all Christian and civil return when they shall ask for it in their own name."

On the 27th of May, in this year (1662), a general court was holden at the house of Francis Littlefield, sen.

The time of their assembling was one of deep interest to the in-





habitants of Maine. There was, probably, a great gathering of the people of Wells to witness the proceedings. Some were for Massachusetts, some for Gorges. Dennison, Hawthorne, and Waldron, commissioners of the former, demanded of the council that this assembly should be dissolved, and that the members should return to their loyalty. "We are not affrighted," they say, "by any commission from Ferdinando Gorges, Esq. You have made too large a progress in these disorderly actings, wherein if you shall continue, to the disturbance of the king's peace, you will force us to change our style. You know we cannot own the Gorges commissioners." The government of Massachusetts demanded of this court under what authority they assembled here; but the leaders in the opposition were not affrighted by any threats from that quarter. They did not believe in the justice of the claim which that colony was endeavoring to enforce, and they had reason to believe that they should have countenance and support on the other side of the water, and they persevered in their opposition and in the business on which they had come together.

It is much to be regretted that we are unable to give a particular account of the proceedings of this body. Neither record or tradition furnishes us with any details. We know not what officers were elected, or what measures were adopted toward maintaining the rights of the people. But whatever may have been the result of its deliberations, they were not effectual in silencing the demands of Massachusetts. That colony still persisted in the determination to hold the western part of the province of Maine, and the next year (1663) its inhabitants were directed to choose associates and other officers, according to the requirements of law. Some of the towns acquiesced. York, Kittery, Falmouth, and Scarboro elected representatives; but Wells would not yield to its authority. The Littlefield family, notwithstanding the death of its head (of whom an account must be deferred to the next chapter), was influential in the political action of the inhabitants. Gorges' commissioners protested against the usurpation of Massachusetts, so that the strife was still continued by the increased zeal of both parties. The Massachusetts interest was exercising its judicial power to drive the rebels into submission. William Hilton was indicted for tearing the seal from a warrant. James Wiggin for saying that "he would give his trencher of fish, if poison, to the bay magistrates," for which he was sen-



tenced to receive fifteen lashes on his naked back, and again, "for his contempt of Massachusetts authority." Phillip Hatch and several others were indicted for not voting for governor. Thomas Booth for calling "the magistrates a company of hypocritical rogues, who feared neither God nor man." The foregoing are a few of the prosecutions growing out of these political complications.

It may well be supposed that, during this period, there would be but little addition to the population by immigration. Land titles had become exceedingly uncertain, and no one could reach such a reliable conclusion, as to which of the parties would be triumphant, as to assure himself of safety in accepting a grant. Massachusetts, to relieve the anxiety of the settlers, and to produce quiet as much as possible, confirmed all existing titles. This had the effect, in some degree, to strengthen her jurisdiction. There was now, evidently, a majority siding with that colony. But various reasons operated in the home government to give matters a different turn, and King Charles, under his own hand, ordered the governor of Massachusetts to restore the territory and its jurisdiction to the heir of Gorges, and the people of Maine were required to submit to his authority; but Massachusetts was yet unrelenting and would not relax her grasp. The king's commissioners labored in vain to induce an abandonment of her claim.

In 1665, Henry Josecelyn, Robert Jordan, Edward Rishworth, and Francis Neale were appointed by the king's commissioners to govern the province. Samuel Wheelright was appointed magistrate for Wells. Still Massachusetts was inexorable, and insisted that all her officers should faithfully discharge their duties. Rishworth, formerly of Wells, now of York, was recorder; but he was manifestly veering to the support of the Gorges jurisdiction, and provision was made, if he would not continue to act in submission to Massachusetts, that Peter Wyer should supply his place. Ezekiel Knight was, at the same time, appointed magistrate for Wells, so that we now have two justices of the peace, one acting under the law of the mother country and the other under that of Massachusetts, and a conviction or judgment by one would be no bar to that of the other. Any act, by authority of the government of Massachusetts, would be of no weight on any question before Wheelright.

Having made all necessary appointments, the commissioners felt that they had established the affairs of the province so that all were





under the immediate government of the king; but Massachusetts would not relinquish any of her pretended rights, and ordered Danforth and several others to go to York and there hold a court. Car, one of the king's commissioners, was apprised of this order, and "by a sharp letter," stopped these men on their way, at Portsmouth, from whence they returned to Boston.

Having fulfilled the purposes of their mission, and supposing the affairs of the province well settled, the commissioners now returned to England, and the excitement soon subsided. Still a very strong party, and perhaps a majority of the people, clung to Massachusetts. Those of Casco petitioned to the king to be permitted to remain under her jurisdiction. Republicanism and Puritanism were gradually taking hold of the souls of men. In July, 1666, a court, consisting of Henry Joscelyn, Francis Hooke, Edward Rishworth, and Samuel Wheelright, justices of the peace by special commission from the king's commissioners, was holden at Saco. At this court there were no less than twelve indictments for the offences of drunkenness and swearing, and fifteen for not attending public worship. One or two cases will exhibit something of the character of other prosecutions instituted at the same time. Jonathan Hammond was presented for charging John Barret with slighting and abusing his wife, "saying, what hath any man to do with it; have I not power to correct my own wife?" "Francis White for saying that Samuel Wheelright was a lying justice." At the next term, Andrew Haley was presented for swearing blasphemously many desperate oaths, for which being reproved by Robert Mendum, one of the grand jury, because he did so swear and blaspheme the name of God, the said Haley did swear again, very desperately, several oaths; said he would put the said Mendum in his pocket.

The late excitement had been fruitful of an extra amount of iniquity. Much of its development was in profanity. Congenial and sympathizing souls sustained themselves by the exhilarating effects of the intoxicating cup. The morals of the settlers were not much improved by the trials through which they had passed. The good men of the day felt that the evils of various kinds which had come over them during the period of strife and contention, were the judgment of the Almighty for their forgetfulness of his holy laws, and November 20th of this year was appointed a fast "because of sins, blastings, mildews, drought, grasshoppers, caterpillars and small pox,



wars and pestilence in England, the low state of the true professors of religion in all parts." But the affairs of the province were in some degree tranquilized. Massachusetts still had no disposition to withdraw her authority from it. Believing that Episcopalianism was at the root of the revolt from her government, new enactments were made to restrain its progress, providing that, "whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds." Mr. Jordan had before been imprisoned for baptizing children in the Episcopal mode. Such proceedings, in terrorem, availed but little in bringing the whole people into subjection. It was useless to contend against the king; he did not fall in with the Massachusetts pretensions, and none of her proceedings in this contest met his approval. The malcontents under the government of that colony were thus made to feel secure in their position.

But Massachusetts was strong, and Maine was without available power. Might makes right too often, even in Christian commonwealths. That colony could enforce her claim, and, therefore, she would. It is clearly manifest, also, that now a majority of the people of the province had come over to its support; and believing that the settlers were anxious to have the government of that colony established over them on a permanent basis, and their wishes having been continually thwarted by the interference of the king's commissioners, that government appointed commissioners on their part to go to York and hold a court; and to arrest and bring to trial all persons presuming to exercise authority, not coming from them, and punish them according to their offences; authorizing them at the same time, to assure the inhabitants that all grants and titles should be effectual to holders as then existing. They were further directed to quell all disturbances.

The commissioners arrived at York July 6. Nathaniel Masterson, who was marshal for the county, had been put in prison by Gorges' officers. They ordered him to be immediately discharged. Joscelyn and his associates met the commissioners and they agreed upon a conference the next day.

At the time appointed they came together. Joscelyn told the commissioners there were not more than four or five men of any standing in York that had any sympathy for Massachusetts; and that they should exercise their authority according to the king's orders. The commissioners said they knew all about the authority which





they had, and that the whole matter had been carefully considered; and that he and his companions had no force whatever, and that, if necessary, they would satisfy them on that point, they having taken with them a force of horse and foot equal to the demands of the occasion.

The commissioners then went to the meeting-house, which stood on the easterly side of the old road leading from York village to the Short Sands, a few rods from the road and near the sea, and ordered the votes for associates and jurymen to be returned. Five towns had made returns. The others were prevented doing so by Joscelyn and his associates.

In the midst of these proceedings the voice of Joscelyn was heard at the door, "Let all here listen and attend to his majesty's commands." The commissioners then directed the marshal to say, if any body had any command from his majesty, let him show it and he shall be heard. The justices then came in, showed their papers, and asked to have them read. The commissioners replied, if they would come in, in the afternoon, after they had finished their work, they should be heard.

The justices had summoned an assembly of deputies from the towns to meet the same day at the meeting-house, and after the commissioners adjourned at noon they came in and took possession of it. The commissioners afterwards sent notice to the justices that they would like to have a conference. They answered, you can have it here. At the same time they sent the marshal through the street, ordering all persons to obey the officers appointed by the king. Some one asked them to show their authority for making this disturbance, but they answered that they should do no such thing; and added, let every man take heed of his majesty's power.

The commissioners then went to the meeting-house, where the assembly had convened. The house was crowded by the people. While thus sitting here in all the dignity and solemnity of a legislative body, the marshal directed the people to make way for the commissioners. These came forward and addressing the assembly, said:

"We did not expect such an affront as this, but it will do you no good. You should have called the meeting at another time, somewhere else. We shall pay no regard to your proceedings. You will not frighten us from our work." Then commenced a melee of which we can give no account. Men were rising and talking all over the house, as the spirit moved.





The commissioners directed the house to be cleared. Joscelyn advised the assembly to retire. Why, it does not appear, but they rushed out. The commissioners and justices then took their seats, and conferred together. The king's letter and the commission of the justices were read; but, having heard them, the commissioners said, "We were sent here to settle the peace of the province, and, God willing, we mean to finish up what we have begun. We know that the king's commissioners have charged Massachusetts with treachery and threatened her with the vengeance of the king, but by divine assistance we have the power and mean to exercise it." They then went on to carry out the programme of their mission, and declared the election of five associates. Ezekiel Knight of Wells was one. Next they completed a military organization, appointing officers in the various towns, and following the practice of the present day, in giving offices to recent converts instead of their old, steadfast friends. John Littlefield was appointed Lieutenant, and Francis Littlefield, jr., Ensign, for Wells. Other matters were finished up and the court adjourned on the ninth day of July, 1668.

The general court of Massachusetts were highly gratified with the success of this commission, and rendered their thanks to the commissioners for their labors. It would have been interesting to have added their own report of the proceedings at York, but it is too long to admit of its insertion here. Some of our readers may object even to the account which we have given of this long controversy.

Notwithstanding all the exertions of the king's officers to bring about and establish a steady government for the people, the means instituted were not sufficient for the purpose. They needed a government nearer home, and more efficient than the remote government of England. The courts established were not held in high respect. Intoxicating drinks corrupted the minds of many. Public worship, the most potent cohesive power to hold and bind men together, was very much neglected, and in consequence the feeling for a union with Massachusetts, among the considerate portion of the settlers, was daily gaining strength. The people of Wells were becoming more united in their feelings in regard to a connection with that colony. They were wearied with the strife and uncertainties which had so long retarded the settlement and destroyed the peace of the inhabitants. The following letter from Thomas Wheelright to the governor exhibits the feelings which had come over the hearts of the peo-



ple. "Worshipful Mr. Bellingham. My humble service presented unto you. By the importunity of some of our neighbors, (I have to say) that the town of Wells is in a sad condition for lack of good government, which they hoped they should have enjoyed; but their hopes so defeated that it hath made their heart sick. Their humble desire is, that you would hasten.

So prays he likewise that is at your service,

THOMAS WHEELRIGHT."

Such also had become the views and desires of most of the people who had any property imperiled by the existing state of things, approaching almost to anarchy. Though it was rather humiliating to acknowledge their error, yet these leading men came to the conclusion that their only safety was in confessing their mistake, and requesting to be again received into the care and under the protection of Massachusetts. The Littlefields seem to have been among the number of those who had come to this conclusion. It was manifest to all that that colony was determined not to give up its claims, and a further continuation of the struggle was fraught only with injury to their estates. They accordingly subscribed and forwarded the following petition:

"To the Hon. General Court now assembled in Boston, New England.

The humble petition of the town of Wells in the county of York, most humbly shows, that whereas your humble petitioners having lived by the good providence of God several years under your authority and government, whereby your petitioners enjoyed many great benefits, but now are deprived of those privileges by some among us, who have doubtless been ill affected to your government. Your honors may justly blame your petitioners in revolting and turning from our former obedience. But we must in some measure make known the cause of it. Mr. Edward Rishworth and some others presented objection to the inhabitants of this county, who being well affected, with said Rishworth and confiding in him, was so far deluded by him and some others that he got several hands to the petition, which petition was to be under his majesty's immediate protection. But not long after those who assigned that petition, were sensible of their own evil therein and some part of the sad effects which they had brought upon themselves and others who did not assign that petition. His majesty's commissioners did also assure some of us,





that doubtless his majesty would soon put an issue to the matter whereby in a very short time the government would be settled. But in consideration of the length of time passed, and nothing hath appeared to your petitioners, whereby we are now persuaded in what condition we in this country were left; and now at present some persons amongst us very active in the management of another petition, fearing thereby we may be driven to further evils, for the prevention whereof, our humble request and desires are to this Honorable Court that our case may be taken under your tuition and government, that so your honorable care of justice may be exercised among us as formerly, for the preventing in falling into disorder and divisions among ourselves, which your petitioners have great cause to fear, will unavoidably come upon us, if God in his Providence do not prevent. So craving pardon for our boldness your poor petitioners shall in bonds of duty, pray for you; whereunto your petitioners have hereunto set our hands this 30th of April, 1668.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT.

WILLIAM HAMMOND.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

PETER CLAISS.

WILL DESBLE.

JOHN BARRETT.

THOMAS PATY.

JOSEPH CROSS.

JACOB WORMWOOD.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, JR.

SAMUEL AUSTIN.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

JOHN GOOCH.

JOHN WELLS.

JAMES GOOCH.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

JOHN CLAYES.

WILLIAM HOBBS.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT, JR.

JOHN ASOF.

Some of the people of the county were in a great rage; so much so that they would not abide under the rule of Massachusetts, but moved out of the province. The town of Wells, notwithstanding so many had gone over to the usurper, would not yet acquiesce in this subjugation. Kittery, York, Scarboro and Falmouth sent representatives to the general court at Boston; but this town would not be represented there. They had been represented three years previously by Francis Littlefield, sen., who, we suppose, had then become a convert to the Massachusetts dynasty. This would seem to indicate that the opposition to that government was now stronger than in 1665, unless Littlefield's opinions were modified after his election.

Perhaps at no period in the history of Maine, was there ever a



collision of parties more interesting and exciting than that of which we have here endeavored to give a brief history. It was a struggle involving many interests and reaching every household. Whatever we may think of the claim of Massachusetts, we are inclined to the opinion that it was no detriment to us thus to have been taken under her fostering care. Our character and progress thereby became interwoven with hers, and the influences of such an union were undoubtedly favorable to the intellectual, moral and physical progress of both. The people gradually became of this opinion, and the opposition to Massachusetts to the same extent died away.

By the Act of the Legislature, soon after the return of the commissioners, Wells was made a shire town, and the courts, thereafter, were to be holden here and at York, alternately. There still remained some discontented spirits in the county, and these courts could not escape the troubles and complaints growing out of this long controversy. The feelings of some had become embittered to such a degree that the unruly member could not be restrained from giving them utterance. These malcontents were men of influence. Their feelings were very well represented in the libelous remarks of one John Bonithon of Saco, then a man of note. He was indicted, "For contempt of Massachusetts authority, and for saying that the Baymen are Rogues and Rebels against his majesty, and saying that Rogue, Major Leverett, he hoped, will be hanged; and if he wanted a hangman, he would be hangman for them." The spirit on the other side was not much better, and was well illustrated in an indictment of Thomas Bonithon and John Bonithon, "for living in a disorderly family in the house of their father, John Bonithon, a contemner of Massachusetts authority." These prosecutions did not do much for pacification. No rational man would bear with much meekness the complaint or taunt of abiding in the house of his father, much more a criminal prosecution for it, and the proceeding against the father for words uttered in the great excitement which had spread over the county, had no tendency to restore quiet. Men in those days did not differ much from the race as it is now. The moral effects of vengeance have never been very favorable to virtue and quiet.



## CHAPTER VI.

HENRY BOADE—EDMUND LITTLEFIELD—STORY OF FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.—JOHN GOOCH—JOHN GOOCH, JR.—JAMES GOOCH—ANTHONY LITTLEFIELD—JONATHAN THINGE—THOMAS MILES—JOHN BARRET—JOHN WHITE—JOHN BUSH—ROBERT WADLEIGH—JOHN WAKEFIELD—WILLIAM COLE—LIST OF INHABITANTS AFTER THE INCORPORATION, AND PRIOR TO 1670.

DURING this long period of political strife, not much progress was made in the settlement and improvement of the town. Some valuable citizens had died, and others had moved from it. Among the former was Henry Boade. He was one of the first settlers. For several years he had lived at Winter Harbor. In 1642, he removed to Wells. He was appointed by Gorges an agent, with Wheelright and Rishworth, to divide and allot the township for the purposes of settlement. In 1646 and 1648, he was chosen one of the assistants of the province. When the town was incorporated, he was made chairman of the first board of selectmen, and one of the commissioners to try small causes. He was a sound and reliable man, not easily moved from his opinions. He belonged to Wheelright's church, and persevered in maintaining that institution until the Massachusetts commissioners decided that the church should be dissolved, as those that adhered to it, it was said, were thereby disturbing the peace. The members were not in fellowship with the ruling hierarchy of Massachusetts, and on that account, it is supposed, they were charged with disorderly conduct. After the organization of the town, Boade came to the conclusion that it would be well for it to remain under Massachusetts. This change of opinion was brought about by his relationship to some of the leading men of that colony. He was cousin of John Winthrop, the governor, and also of Rev. Timothy Dalton, of Hampton. He did not long survive the incorporation, to do much for the benefit of the town. He died in 1657, leaving Ann Boade, his widow, who soon afterwards married a





Winsley, who lived at the west. In 1659, Winsley and wife sold the homestead to Hartakendon Symonds and William Symonds. The name Boade disappeared from Wells after the marriage of his widow.

In December, 1661, died EDMUND LITTLEFIELD. We have spoken of him briefly in his relation to the first church in Wells; but as, from the earliest period in the settlement of Wells, the Littlefields have constituted an important part of the population, we deem it proper to give a more full account of the great ancestor. The branches of the family are now so extensive that a complete genealogy would make a large volume. Probably no one has attempted to elaborate its pedigree, and it may reasonably be supposed that very few have acquainted themselves, to any considerable extent, with their lateral relationships. Most people take but little interest even in their own genealogy. They can go back to their grandparents, but here their knowledge ends. Family history has presented to them no attractions. But a new impulse has recently been given to studies of this character, and perhaps it will be interesting to many who bear the name of Littlefield to have some more extensive knowledge of their ancestry than they have hitherto possessed. The family has been a remarkable one. The names of nearly all who were the original settlers of the town have disappeared from the list of inhabitants, but the Littlefields have yearly become more numerous. Embracing all, parents and children, there are now living, in various places, more than a thousand persons who must trace their descent from the first settler of Wells.

Edmund Littlefield, the great progenitor, probably came here in 1641 from Exeter. We suppose he came over to this country, from Southampton, about the same time with Rev. John Wheelright. He was one of his church at Exeter in 1630, and one of the combination, having twenty-one acres of land assigned to him. This church was founded by those whose theology was denounced by the Massachusetts church, and who could find no resting place under that government. As Littlefield's name does not appear in the list of those who were driven from that colony, we infer that he may have arrived at Boston in 1637, a little while before the expulsion took place. Pormotte, who was with him at Exeter and Wells, and adhered, with him, to the church, and, we suppose, a special friend,



came over in 1634; but, as Littlefield was never of the Boston church, we think he did not arrive until his friends were involved in the trouble with the ruling hierarchy in Boston, and thence took care not to become one of the subjects upon whom its wrath was to be vented.

He had eight children, five sons and three daughters: Francis, Anthony, Elizabeth, John, Thomas, Mary, Hannah, and Francis, junior. Anthony came over with the father, all the rest of the family remaining in England. Having determined to abide in the country, he sent for them to come, and his wife, Annas Littlefield, and her six children left their home and took passage for Boston, in the Bevis, of Hampton, Capt. Tounes, in May, 1638. Francis, the oldest son, has a peculiar history. It will be seen that there were two of the children of this name. The circumstances connected with this singular fact have been variously stated; but from a defect of knowledge in regard to the ages of the children, and of certain other facts which appear of record, the tradition has gathered to itself some material errors. Francis, the elder, was born in 1619. From some cause, of which we have no explanation, in early childhood he disappeared from his father's house. He could not then have been more than six or seven years old. Francis, junior, was born about twelve years after. This is manifest from the fact that he was required to sign the submission to Massachusetts in 1653, which he would not have done had he then been a minor. The absence of Francis, senior, must have been voluntary. He could not have been abducted. If he had been, he would, at some subsequent time, surely, have notified his parents of that fact. It is strange that a young child like him should conceive the idea of abandoning the scene of all his comforts and all his support. The roving impulse, sometimes manifesting itself in boys, may have been strong within him and have led him to London or some of the great cities of the kingdom. We are very confident he did not then come to New England. No vessel would have taken an unknown boy of that age. But when he approached manhood it is very probable that the spirit of adventure may have taken hold of him. Great numbers were then flocking to these western shores. Ship after ship was leaving England, laden with passengers seeking their fortunes beyond the waters. Vessels were returning, bringing cargoes of fish, furs, and other articles, the product of their voyages to the western world. All were





talking of this wonderful country, abounding in gold, silver, precious stones, and other commodities, and the heart of the young man was touched by the fascinations which allured so many of maturer age. He could not resist the temptations which came over him, in the general excitement, somehow or other, to follow the multitude in the rush to the new world. He contrived to secure a passage, perhaps as a cabin boy, or as a servant to some one who was leaving his country for a home in the far-off Eldorado. He had left his parents, weeping at his departure, and now, under some assumed name, without sending to them the cheering word that he was still in the land of the living, he joins the multitude for the new world. He seems to have been one of those, found here and there, whose thoughts are more absorbed in their immediate surroundings than in the remembrance or happiness of the dear ones at home. Years passed away and no tidings came from him. The hearts of his parents were filled with sadness. Though the professed followers of Christ, the faith which comes by him is not always sufficient to sustain the soul. Weak and imperfect humanity will sometimes give way, even under temporary bereavements. The heart, for a time, will be bowed down by such family separations. Thoughts of the lost one will intrude, despite of all our self-control and all our Christian trust. No light beamed in upon them as to his fate. At last, all hope of seeing him again died within them, and they were obliged to come to the conclusion that he was dead. But Providence has many ways of compensation for these saddening incidents of our human condition. The bereaved parents had a new object of interest and affection presented by their Creator to cheer their wounded hearts. Another son was born to them, and they could give him no other name than Francis.

The parents were not satisfied with their condition in England. Though arrived at middle age, the fever for adventure took hold of them. Littlefield was a man of energy and resolution, and while so many of the young about him were crowding the passenger ships for the new land of freedom and imagined wealth, he could not keep aloof from the enterprise, but took passage and came to New England. From Boston he went to Exeter with Wheelright and his associates. His son, Anthony, was already with him, and he was soon joined by his wife and the children who came with her. This change, from the midst of civilized life to an entire wilderness, must



have been appalling indeed to his large family. The night howlings of the wolves, then so abundant, must have come to their ears with fearful power, and the deprivations which they began to experience have filled their souls with longings for the peace and comforts of the old homestead in England.

The precise year when the meeting with Francis took place does not appear from any surviving record. He was not living at the time, as has been said in some histories, on a farm in Wells. In 1639, he was, without doubt, at Exeter. He was then twenty years old, but was, with his father, so far acknowledged a member of the Wheelright combination as to have a lot of land assigned to him. In the list occurs the name "Goodman Littlefield, four acres, twenty rods," and afterwards "Goodman Littlefield" occurs again, with an assignment of twenty-one acres. This was for Edmund Littlefield, his wife, and children, while the former was for Francis, who would soon be of age and could then assume the responsibilities of one of the combination. From Exeter Francis went to Woburn. Here he was married; but his wife, Jane, died on the 20th of December, 1646, leaving a daughter, Mary, four days old. We suppose this child did not long survive her mother, as the father does not record her name with the family. He left Woburn as soon as his wife died and came to Wells.

Littlefield and his sons were millmen and farmers, principally of the latter class. Such, also, has been the occupation of nearly all their descendants. They have been, generally, industrious, hardy, and respectable agriculturists. Devoting themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and invigorated by the salubrious and strengthening air of a New England climate, they have sent forth their branches all around. Possessing physical constitutions unimpaired by the luxuries and indulgencies which enervate so many of the race, they have wonderfully carried out the injunction given to our first parents. In looking over the various family records, so far as we have had opportunity, we cannot but wonder at the large families with which so many of them have been blessed. The Littlefields have been favored with more twins than all the rest of the inhabitants.

The ancestor of this family was a man of respectable standing, of fearless enterprise, and sound moral principle. Though we have no reliable evidence that any particular person established himself here





before him, yet there are many facts which justify the supposition that he was not the first settler. Others must have preceded him on the plantation. He had built a saw-mill and grist-mill on Webbanet river in 1641. This fact would seem to indicate that he could not have been alone in the wilderness. A grist-mill would have been a very unprofitable establishment where there were no customers. It would seem very unlikely that he would have gone into the manufacture of meal, at a large expense, unless to supply others besides his own family. The fishermen on the coast might, perhaps, have availed themselves of the opportunity of obtaining flour or meal for their own use; but most of them were engaged in their business at the eastward, and would not be very likely to come to Wells for such supplies. In addition to this, without producers, where would the corn come from? At this time there were no coasters here, and it would be highly improbable that vessels would have been chartered to bring corn to Wells for grinding and then carry back the flour to Boston or some other mart.

The argument in regard to the saw-mill is of a similar character, though not so conclusive, as here the material for the manufacture of lumber was very abundant; but still no reasonable man, at that period, when lumber was so easily and cheaply obtained, would have thought of building a saw-mill, remote from any settlement, for the purpose of its manufacture, where no aid was to be had, and where there was no such intercourse with any other mart as to furnish opportunity for sale.

But this is not the place for discussing the question, who were the first settlers of Wells. It will be manifest to every reader that there must have been inhabitants here before John Wheelright left Exeter. We have spoken of him as having initiated the settlement, because it has been so understood, and for the reason that, coming here, as he did, with several persons of substantial character, he gave a sudden impulse to the progress of the plantation.

Littlefield was, without doubt, fully satisfied that numbers must be speedily added to his neighborhood. His surroundings were of such a character as to captivate the attention of men seeking for a location fitted for the acquisition of a comfortable support. Here every facility was offered for that purpose, and his anticipations were soon realized in the acquisition of Wheelright and his company of persevering adherents. Probably the work done by Littlefield, in-





truductory to clearing the wilderness and subjecting the territory to the uses of civilization, and the aid which his mills would give in providing for their families, did much toward inducing their emigration to this place, and on this account we think he is entitled to be regarded as the father of Wells. With the aid of his large family, he here prepared the way for the habitation of man.

We have before stated that, on account of his firm moral character, he was appointed by the governor of Massachusetts agent for the sale of ardent spirits in Wells, it being then of the utmost importance that great discretion should be used in the sale of liquor to the Indians. He was also one of the committee for settling the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise, and a commissioner to try small causes, elected by the people for the years 1654, 1655, 1658, 1660, and 1661. He was also agent of Gorges to give possession of lots to settlers. He is called, in some instruments, "Old Edmund Littlefield," not on account of his age, but because one of the sons of Francis, the elder, had been given the same name. All his family survived him. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married John Wakefield; Mary married John Barret and Thomas Page, of Saco; Hannah married Peter Cloyes.

JOHN GOOCH died in the beginning of the year 1667. We have no knowledge of the time when he came from England to this country. We suppose that he came from Slymbridge, where he owned a house, garden, and orchard, which he purchased of William Hammond; but whether before or after his emigration we are not informed. He first located himself at Newbury. From thence he came to York, where he owned a farm. This he sold in 16— and came to Wells, where he resided when Maine became subject to Massachusetts. He was one of the first to yield to that usurpation. We judge him to have been a man of peace, anxious to avoid all troubles and collisions, and he seems to have been successful in that respect. Although nearly every inhabitant of the town was complained of for some misdemeanor, he appears to have been one of the few on whom the law never laid its hands. He had had some little trouble at Newbury, and perhaps that led him to exercise a wise precaution in regard to the future. He was not in Massachusetts long enough to be made a freeman of that colony. It may be that its theology and its manifestations did not commend themselves



to his mind ; but still, when here, he seems to have been firmly fixed in the opinion that a union with it would be for the benefit of the people of Maine, and he signed the petition to Cromwell that that government might be maintained over this territory. He was probably Puritanic in principle, though not satisfied with all the religious developments of that colony. He was an honest and worthy citizen. While living at York, he had a severe trial in an unfortunate aberration of his wife. Still he had the kindest feelings toward her, and spoke of her afterwards affectionately, there never having been, apparently, any interruption of the conjugal harmony.

He was one of the first selectmen of the town, and in 1662 was chosen constable. More importance was attached to the latter office at that time than at the present day ; the most worthy and respectable citizens were selected for it.

He left Ruth Gooch, his widow, to whom he gave all his personal property ; sons, John, to whom he gave his homestead ; James, to whom he gave his estate in England ; and Elizabeth Donnell, Mary, Hannah, Phebe, Peter, Nathaniel, and Ruth Weare, and Elizabeth Austin, his grandchildren, to whom he gave small legacies. We have not ascertained whether his daughters, the mothers of these grandchildren, were living or not. We suppose one of them married Peter Weare ; but his conjugal affections were exceedingly limited, not leading him to provide for her or enjoy her company, and thence Gooch gave the legacy to the children, so that it might not fall into his hands. We presume, also, that his daughter, Frances, married Henry Donnell, and thence he gave the legacy to her daughter, Elizabeth, he having deserted his family, leaving them to take care of themselves. Elizabeth Austin, we think, was the daughter of Samuel Austin, and that her mother had deceased. We state these probabilities, not thinking it of sufficient importance to offer the reasons on which we base them.

JOHN GOOCH, JR., died in 1672. His widow, Lydia Gooch, not having a high opinion of single life, was remarried so soon after as to be precluded from administering on her husband's estate. James Gooch died in 1676. He left a respectable property for that period, keeping a yoke of oxen and eight cows. Ruth, the mother, and widow of the elder John, died at the close of the same year. From John and Ruth Gooch have descended all of that name who have dwelt in Wells.





We have not succeeded in acquainting ourselves fully with the signers of the submission to Massachusetts, who lived in Wells at the time of the incorporation, but who died or removed therefrom soon after. Of such persons, we cannot speak particularly.

ANTHONY LITTLEFIELD died in 1662. He was the son of Edmund and one of the first inhabitants. He had a grant of 230 acres of land on the easterly side of Mousam river, which included Great Hill. This lot he sold to Hartakendon Symonds in 1658. He was a man of little energy and made no other investment in real estate. When he died, he had but a hundred dollars in personal property, as the result of twenty years' labor. We have good reason for the belief that he was not a temperate man. His father, by his will, gave him nothing but his old clothes, or his wearing apparel. He had had no education, and thence would not be likely to have any just appreciation of life and its responsibilities.

Of JOSEPH EMERSON we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the church.

JONATHAN THINGE, we think, has left no representatives in town. There was no element of his character which would make him of essential service in promoting its moral or physical growth. He came here from Ipswich, where he had been guilty of the crime of rape, for which he had been severely whipped, both at Boston and Ipswich. He was appointed constable for the town of Wells in 1653, and a commissioner to try small causes for the Isle of Shoals in 1655, and by the court, the same year, was required to give bonds for his good behavior. There were four different indictments against him at the same time. "For telling a lie;" for being "a common disturber of order;" for "serving a notice on the Lord's day," and for "speaking discernfully of the court" and saying he did "not care for what the governor said, nor never a governor in the country." Such persons we are very willing to spare from our ancestry; though it is not unusual for men of that stamp, even at the present day, to be made conservators of the public morals, and even the keepers of the public property.



Of THOMAS MILES, or MILLS, we know very little. He married Mary, the daughter of John Wadleigh. As a man he made no special demonstrations; and thence his character has not found its way into the book of human life.

JOHN BARRET died in 1662. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Littlefield. In 1658 he was appointed ensign of the military company in Wells. He left a respectable property for that period. His only descendant, of whom we have knowledge, was his son, John Barret, jr., who subsequently moved to Cape Porpoise. He was also ensign of the militia, but did not bring much honor to his father. He was deficient in true manliness of character; disregarding his conjugal obligations, and treating his wife with unkindness, and sometimes with great severity. The town lost nothing by his removal beyond its borders.

Of JOHN WHITE, we have no other knowledge, than that he came to this country in April, 1635, and that he had a son, John White, jr.

JOHN BUSH came from England in May of the same year, and to Wells about the same time with Wheelright. In 1647 he was appointed commissioner to try small causes, and again to the same office in 1655. He was also constable in 1654. A few years after, he sold his land of two hundred and fifty acres to Hartakendon Symonds and left the town.

ROBERT WADLEIGH was a brother of John, and witnessed the deed of the Indians to him. He was clerk of the writs in 1653. He moved from Wells to Kittery, where he was licensed in 1661 to keep an ordinary, and also the ferry at Kittery Point.

Of WILLIAM WARDELL, we have given a brief sketch in his relation to the church. He did not continue long in Wells after its incorporation.

JOHN WAKEFIELD was a commissioner of Wells in 1648, and afterwards one of the selectmen. He bought Drake's Island of Stephen Batson in 1652, and occupied it two or three years, when he sold it



to Samuel Austin and moved to Scarboro. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Littlefield.

WILLIAM COLE was one of the Exeter combination, and came from that place, we presume, with Wheelright. We have no special knowledge of him. We think he followed Wheelright to Salisbury after 1659. We suppose him to have been the father of Nicholas Cole, who signed the submission to Massachusetts. But little of the genealogy of this family is found on the town records. We find in various places several of the name of Nicholas, and thus have had much difficulty in tracing the descent. Nicholas does not appear to have remained long in the town. He removed to North Yarmouth, and in 1672 bought, with John Purrington, of the Indians, the meadow on a great island near Great Chebeague. Previous to this he owned and occupied a house in that vicinity; but the Indian war of 1676 drove him from his possession, and he fled to Wells for safety. He did not return there after the close of the war, but lived in Wells until his death in 1688. In the year of the incorporation, 1653, he was constable of the town. But he seems to have had some difficulties with his neighbors and with the minister, Rev. Seth Fletcher, which perhaps induced him to leave the town and move to the eastward. He was a useful man; a carpenter and millwright, and also a surveyor of lands—locating and surveying many of the town lots. His life was a checkered one—full of misfortunes, embarrassments and disappointed hopes. Mary Symonds, of Ipswich, in writing to a friend in 1687, says Nicholas Cole has had great losses and troubles. These probably hastened his end.

Of those bold and fearless men, who were the first to apply their energies to subdue the wilderness, and who were inhabitants at the incorporation of the town, one-third had died or sought a habitation in some other place before 1670. There was nothing in the prospect to encourage one of a peaceful and quiet spirit to persevere in his endeavors for a livelihood. The settlement was divided in itself, and the political atmosphere was uncongenial and always lowering. These men were needed to help it onward, but more especially in the trying hour which was approaching, to save it from desolation. Though the places which were vacated were supplied by others, the





souls of the new-comers had not been tried by the adversities and hardships which the pioneers had experienced. The stay of many of them was short; and our knowledge of them is very imperfect. The information which we have would be of no special interest, excepting to those who are engaged in genealogical pursuits; and we therefore merely mention in this connection the names of those who became inhabitants of Wells after the incorporation, and previously to 1670: William Ashley, William Butland, John Butland, Francis Barkhouse, John Cloyes, John Cross, Peter Cloyes, Joseph Cross, John Dymond, Thomas Cloyes, Samuel Hatch, Philip Hatch, Robert Heathersy, John Smith, John Wells, Thomas Wells, William Wormwood, Garret Reaves, Nathaniel Masters, Abraham Tilton, Peter Bass, John Wallis, Thomas Boston, Thomas Cousins, John Trott, Jacob Wormwood, William Hobbs, William Johnson, John Asof, John Bennett, Thomas Paty, Henry Sayward, John Reed, John West, Thomas Marriner.

Of those who remained here, we shall have occasion to speak in the prosecution of this work. The descendants of some of them are still found among the worthy inhabitants of the town.



## CHAPTER VII.

FIRST SETTLERS IN KENNEBUNK—JOHN SANDERS—MOUSAM RIVER FERRY—JOHN CHEATER—LITTLE RIVER FERRY—FIRST PUBLIC HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK—GEORGE BUCKLAND—WILLIAM SYMONDS—DANIEL PIERCE—BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN WELLS AND CAPE PORPOISE—ROAD ALONG THE SEA WALL—FIRST BRIDGE—BRIAN PENDLETON APPOINTED SURVEYOR—CAPE PORPOISE RIVER FERRY—FIRST ROAD TO KENNEBUNK.

IN consequence of the loss of the volume of the town records, by the burning of the house of Joseph Bolles, the town clerk in 1657, it requires more research than the importance of the matter would justify to answer the question where the first settlers located themselves; but of some we can learn the residence by the boundaries set out, and the references contained in their grants, and in deeds subsequently made. The first settlers in that part of the town, known as Kennebunk from the earliest settlement, were John Sanders, John Cheater, and perhaps George Buckland. Sanders had a grant of 150 acres of upland and fifty of marsh from Thomas Gorges, deputy governor, and Richard Vines in 1643. This grant embraced what is now the farm of Henry C. Hart. The house, we are inclined to believe, stood on the verge of the point near the sea. The land, since that day, has been materially encroached upon by the surf. From the descriptions, as set out in subsequent transfers, we should infer that his whole establishment was of considerable magnificence, did not the impossibility of obtaining the necessary materials preclude any such inference. There were no mills in the vicinity; that of John Littlefield was the nearest; and for the purposes of show or ornament no means were at hand. The house was, probably, very much like those of all the early settlers on the coast, built for immediate occupancy. There were, indeed, in this case, reasons for larger accommodations than his own family required. We suppose that he built his house here partly for the entertainment of travelers, this being the only way of journeying from the Piscataqua,





east. The Mousam river then ran out by the eastern side of Hart's Rocks. Here, at high water, ferriage was needed, and Sanders provided himself with boats for that purpose. The river then abounded with salmon and shad, and he erected a weir to take them. Owning the marsh on both the Mousam and Little rivers, he had a constant supply of such hay, as it never fails to yield. So that, including the "treasures hidden in the sand" and the "abundance of the sea," he had everything necessary for man and beast. He was a man of some note, but of no education. In 1653, he was chosen lieutenant for the town of Wells. His location was one well fitted for the acquisition of a moderate property, and he seems to have been somewhat successful. But for some cause, of which we have no explanation, in 1663 he conveyed his farm to John Cutts, of Portsmouth, afterwards president of New Hampshire. He may have been indebted to him for materials used in building his house. The fishing business was then profitable, and Cutts may have purchased the establishment for the purpose of carrying it on. After selling his lands in Wells, Sanders moved to Cape Porpoise, where he died in 1670, having entailed a part of his property in this manner: He gives his estate at Cape Porpoise to his wife, Ann Sanders, during her natural life; after her decease to his son Thomas, then to his son John; and "so from heir to heir and next of kin surviving the deceased proprietor." He gave to his son John about 1,000 acres of land, eight or nine miles above Cape Porpoise river falls, and the rest of his property he left to be divided among his other children after the decease of their mother. His widow died the same year.

JOHN CHEATER had a tract of land next above that of George Buckland, on the Kennebunk river. Buckland's commenced at the sea and extended back one mile, and by the sea westward to the bathing beach. We have not ascertained that Buckland lived on his lot. If he did, it is probable that he built the house occupied by Harding a few years after. Cheater came to Wells from Newbury in 1655, or about that time, having left that place in consequence of some misdemeanor of his wife, Alice, with one Daniel Gunn, with which he did not fully sympathize, she, for her unchaste behavior, having been admonished by the court and required to stand tied to the whipping post one hour. These aberrations of the sex in those days seldom produced a disruption of the conjugal tie; but it was not



pleasant to continue a residence where the wife of his bosom had been through this shameful ordeal, and was thus subject to the scoffs of those who had been the witnesses of it, and Cheater left the place and came into the wilderness. He lived near the Mousam river, but the site of his house is unknown. He may have occupied that of Sanders after it was sold to Cutts. He was a surveyor of lands, and also lieutenant of the militia, and was generally called Leftenant Cheater. In 1662, he was appointed ferryman for Mousam river and also for Little river; and for ferriage over each he was authorized to tax twelve pence for a man and horse, and at low water, six pence. As in those days it was considered that some stimulation was an absolute necessity for travelers, he was licensed to keep an ordinary to meet this demand, and he had "liberty to draw one-third of a barrel of strong waters which he had in his house, and likewise wine and beer, and keep victualing." Such establishments, in the subsequent century, were called taverns. They were indispensable, but not always very serviceable in promoting the public morals. This was the first public house in Kennebunk, but its character we cannot vouch for. The landlady was not rigidly virtuous, and order and peace, we think, did not always prevail in it. They had a servant man, Thomas Latimer, who did not like his position and ran away; whether he bettered his condition or not we cannot determine. The last that we know of him is furnished by the following record: "4 month 24 1661. A Jewry impanelled to inquier of the death of Thomas Latimer. which lived with John Chater of Wells, and ran away from him this month, and was found drowned in Saco river." "Thayr verdick is, he was accidentally drowned through his own default." Cheater and his family soon disappeared from among the inhabitants of Wells.

GEORGE BUCKLAND, WILLIAM SYMONDS, and DANIEL PIERCE were in possession of lands within the limits of Kennebunk when the Indians conveyed the whole territory of the town to John Wadleigh in 1649. This is manifest from their deed; but we have no evidence that any of them resided on their lots. George Buckland soon after lived in Ogunquit; William Symonds on the western side of Little river, near the sea. In 1658, he bought of Anthony Littlefield the Great Hill farm of about 230 acres, embracing tillage, pasture, and upland, bounded by the Cape Porpoise river and by the first great





creek, and thence by the sea, extending eastward far enough to embrace the number of acres. He may have built the house which soon after stood on Great Hill. If Daniel Pierce occupied his tract as a home lot, he lived near where the Wentworths or Boothbys have since lived; but we have no satisfactory evidence that either of them dwelt on this territory.

These are the only persons residing in the eastern end of the town previously to the year 1660. It is a remarkable fact, though so many years had elapsed since its incorporation, that there never had been any definite settlement of its entire boundaries. The act by which it was made a town simply says that "Wells shall be a township by itself." No boundaries are stated, and no allusion is made to its limits in any direction. Grants had been made of its lands by two different proprietors; but Massachusetts claimed the whole territory from Piscataqua, far east of Wells, and ordered a settlement of the line, commissioners being appointed by the general court for the purpose, who in May, 1659, made the report which we have before stated, upon the line between Wells, York, and Kittery.

But the principal difficulty in adjusting the boundaries arose from the uncertainty of the line on the northeastern side of the town. Which was the Kennebunk river seems to have been an unsettled question. The inhabitants of Cape Porpoise insisted that the river then called the Cape Porpoise was the Kennebunk; that the town derived its name from the river passing through it, and that it would have been absurd that a river two miles from it should be called the Cape Porpoise, when navigators would be thereby so much deceived as to enter a harbor which was not the one to which they were bound. One would have supposed that the Indians, who were then living on the territory, could have settled this matter beyond controversy. Kennebunk is an Indian name, and they surely knew to which stream it belonged. They had lived on the banks of the most westerly for centuries. Cape Porpoise was an English name of recent application. But the people of those days were not remarkable for quickness and accuracy of perception, or for sound reasoning; and as the territory was not very valuable at this period, there being but two or three inhabitants on it, neither party, we think, took very great pains to ascertain the truth in regard to the matter in controversy. But sufficient excitement had been awak-





ened by the dispute to render it necessary that the question should be settled, and committees of the two towns were appointed for the purpose; Edmund Littlefield and William Hammond on the part of Wells, and Morgan Howell and William Scadlock on the part of Cape Porpoise. They met at the house at the mouth of Kennebunk river, which was afterwards occupied by Harding. It may have been at this time occupied by William Reynolds, the ferryman. The ferrymen were generally licensed for the sale of liquors and the accommodation of man and beast with the necessaries of life. Littlefield and Hammond were men of integrity. We are not particularly acquainted with Howell and Scadlock, but their characters were such as to commend them to their townsmen, though we have sufficient knowledge of the latter to wonder that to him should be committed a public trust of any importance whatever. Towns, as well as individuals, must expect to reap the fruits of their own action. The commissioners entered upon the examination of the business with which they were entrusted. It was then the custom to introduce all such consultations and prepare for the work by stimulating the vital energies, and awakening every faculty to the discharge of its appropriate duty. Scadlock was an old hand in this mode of action. What progress they made in the duties of their commission, from day to day, has not come down to us; but on the first day of their meeting a violent storm arose, so that they were confined to the house. As they were not educated men, instructed in argumentation, they did not spend much time in discussion, and thus time passed very tediously, so that they felt the need of frequent inspiration to maintain their equanimity. The bottle, of course, was the resort to refresh the inner man. The storm continued three days, and the expenses reached a magnitude rather startling. Cape Porpoise was poor, and the thought came over the commissioners from that town, that there would be some complaint among the people about the costs of this proceeding. They had made no progress in the settlement of the question submitted to them, and fearing that the bill, if they continued there longer, would be more than the town would pay, and having become sufficiently elevated by their liberal potations, they made to the Wells committee the proposition that, if they would pay all the bills, they would agree on Kennebunk river as the boundary of the towns. The



committee from Wells at once assenting, they sat down and made this return:

"We whose names are here underwritten, being chosen by the towns of Cape Porpoise and Wells for the laying out of the dividing line of said towns, do mutually agree that the river Kennebunk shall be the bounds of Cape Porpoise and Wells, to the utmost extent of both the towns, being eight miles up into the country. Witness our hands the tenth day of May, 1660.

EDMUND LITTLEFIELD,

MORGAN HOWELL,

The Court allows and approves of this return, as attest, Edward Rawson.

WM. HAMANS,

WM. SCADLOCK.

Thus was the boundary between the two towns permanently settled. Our impression is that the evidence preponderated in favor of the claim of Cape Porpoise; but we do not think it expedient here to enter on any discussion of the subject. The result affords a striking illustration of the evil of committing important interests to the hands of men who are in the habit of indulging in the free use of intoxicating liquors. The most valuable portion of the town of Kennebunk, it is very probable, was the just property of Kennebunkport. But the folly of the people of that town, in entrusting their rights to the care of intemperate men, had its due reward in the loss which they thereby suffered. The towns, situated along each side of the river, might have constituted a convenient and influential corporation, now numbering a population of six or seven thousand souls.

One of the arguments in favor of the claim of Cape Porpoise was, that Rigby, whose patent extended to Kennebunk river, made grants of territory bounded on the river furthest west, which grants had not been interfered with by the proprietors of the Wells plantation. In 1641, under this authority, what is now termed the Great Hill farm was granted to John Wakefield and John Littlefield. The hill at that time extended much farther into the sea than it now does; and with the projecting land at the eastern end was called the Great Neck. The features of this interesting locality have undergone a wonderful modification since that period. Within the memory of many now on the stage of life, the sea has swallowed up a large part of the soil. Not many years since the point was connected with the





hill by a broad surface of land, which was always kept in a state of cultivation by the occupant, whose house stood on the small part of it still remaining. The sea, by its inroads, disconnected it with the shore, and from that time it has been rapidly disappearing. Between Great Hill and the Mousam river there was nothing but a pine swamp. Wakefield and Littlefield did not take possession and occupy under this grant. If the eastern river was the Cape Porpoise, then the Lygonia patent did not include this territory. Perhaps this uncertainty as to the title was the reason why possession was not taken. Wakefield afterwards lived on Drake's Island, and Littlefield in Ogunquit.

In the year 1653, when Wells was ordered to make the road by the sea, the towns of Kittery and York were ordered to make "straight and convenient way along East for man and horse." York and Kittery had then become villages of considerable population, and Wells contained about 150 inhabitants. Cape Porpoise and Saco also had a population of several hundred. The next year a road was ordered to be made from York to Newichewannock, then a part of Kittery, afterwards called Berwick, and the same year Kittery and Wells were required to make a way from Newichewannock to Wells, so that, from this time, the people of Wells had regular communication with the West. Soon after this, in 1658, the way was required to be improved easterly as far as Kennebunk river. This road went along Hart's Beach, over Great Hill and Gooch's Beach to Reynold's Ferry, so that settlers might conveniently locate themselves on any of the lands near the sea. At the same time the people were required to improve the road from York to Wells. A bridge was required to be built over the Ogunquit. This was the first erection of that character in town. The people were very backward in fulfilling the order, and were indicted for their neglect; but it was soon after built, and a good passable way was thus made from York to Kennebunk.

In the year 1664, Brian Pendleton was appointed surveyor of highways throughout the province, with authority to order all matters at his discretion, for the purpose of making them meet for the public necessities. The marshal of the province was required to attend him in making his surveys, so that, having the supervision of the whole way from Kittery through the settlements, all the obstructions might be removed, and a passable road made for all travelers on foot



or on horseback. This, we think, was one of the wisest provisions which mark the administrative action of the courts at that period.

The people now began to be sensible of the necessity of convenient roads, and some interest was excited in making intercommunication more free and easy. The King's road from Ogunquit river through Wells, as far as Cole's Corner, varied but little from its present location. From this latter terminus, toward the sea and over Little river, the passage had been very inconvenient, and an arrangement was made July 13, 1664, with Nicholas Cole, one of the most energetic men of the town, to have this part of the way put in good condition, and suitable provision made for transportation over the Cape Porpoise. Liberty was granted to him to keep a ferry over Cape Porpoise river for seven years, and for setting over every single person, a stranger, who would pass, he was authorized to take six pence, if more than one at a time four pence each, and the same price for horses if they swam; and for every townsman of Wells who passed he was to have three pence, and the same for their horses. He was required to make a way from his own house toward the sea into the road going east, provide a good canoe, and to make two or three bridges needed for the convenient passage of horse and man from his house over the creeks which crossed the way between Little river and Cape Porpoise river. To do the work of making the bridges the town agreed to furnish a man for three days, and one day yearly to keep them in repair. Cole resided at the corner, where his descendants have lived ever since. This would seem to be a hard bargain. To travel two or three miles to the Mousam river and set a man over for six pence would be rather an unprofitable job, but money was then scarce and valuable. Two years before, Cheater was allowed twelve pence for a man and horse, and had none of the burdens which Cole assumed. We know not how to explain this strange fact, except on the hypothesis that the travel had largely increased. How the people obtained any money we are not informed. They had nothing to sell. The ordinaries and the ferries brought something to their possessors; but we have never learned that, up to this time, there was any such land or water transportation to the older places west as to furnish conveyance for any products of the soil or sea, which they might chance to have to send to market. If Cole's daily receipts were small, perhaps the income was as valuable to him as would have been the labors of husbandry.



This was the first established road to Kennebunk, the way by the house of William Symonds, being principally over the beach. The previous year a ferry had been established over Cape Neddock river. Sylvester Stover was the ferryman. So that now there was a continuous way from Portsmouth to the town of Cape Porpoise. In 1653, a way was ordered within the towns of Wells and Cape Porpoise "fit for footmen and horses, and fit for carts from house to house." This seems to have been an order for a town way only; to accommodate those residing in these towns. Perhaps the road by Symonds' house was made at this time.

At this period no one was allowed to be a drone or loafer, when there was work to be done for the common good. Every one had occasion to travel the highway, and all alike had the benefit of it. It was thence regarded as just that all should share in the labor of making and repairing, so that a few years afterwards, in 1671, the town voted, "that every male person sixteen years old and upward, that is in a capacity to work, being warned by the surveyor, shall attend that service, and that a yoke of oxen shall go in lieu of a man." This was a wise provision. Young men should be early inspired with the knowledge that they are members of a community, and that material duties grow out of that relation; that they should contribute their aid to the common necessities. They should be made to feel that they have an interest in whatever is for the public welfare; that their characters, as good citizens, depend very materially on their ready, cheerful acquiescence in the labors which it demands of them.





## CHAPTER VIII.

LOW CONDITION OF THE CHURCH—REV. SETH FLETCHER EMPLOYED TO PREACH—ORDERS OF THE GENERAL COURT IN RELATION TO CHARGES AGAINST HIM—INJUNCTION AGAINST HIM—PETITION OF INHABITANTS TO DISSOLVE INJUNCTION—ORDERS OF GENERAL COURT TO THE INHABITANTS TO PROCURE A MINISTER—INHABITANTS INDICTED FOR NOT PROVIDING A PLACE OF WORSHIP—JOSEPH EMERSON ENGAGED—REV. JEREMIAH HUBBARD ENGAGED—THE CONNECTION DISSOLVED.

In a former chapter, we have given a brief account of the first church in Wells and of its untimely dissolution. The people were then in the darkness of ignorance. With scarcely any intellectual culture, unable to read or write, and thus untrained to reason, they could have no firm basis on which to build up a true Christian character. John Wheelright was a man of education, fitted for the exercise of moral power, and thereby drawing to himself the deference of those with whom he was here associated. Few of them could have any just comprehension of his speculations, and those who did, if such there were, reaped no benefit from his instructions. His metaphysical Christianity imbued them with speculative proclivities, which were indulged to such a degree as to drive from their souls all true devotion to God and duty, and they became wranglers about justification, sanctification, and the numerous theological questions which are born always of the flesh and not of the spirit. Beside his immediate friends, who came with him, there were here others, supporters of the Puritan theology, and also some who were adherents to the forms and principles of the mother church beyond the waters. All of them had some religious notions, but whence they came they had not the power to explain. The ignorant are much more tenacious of their dogmatic religion than those who have had the ability, opportunity, and means of examination and deep thought. Ignorance is generally obstinate and unyielding. So that this church, thus compounded, was rather an institution for strife and debate



than for the advancement of a reliable piety and the harmonies of a true Christian union; but notwithstanding the manifestations of a spirit adverse to that of peace and unity, we have seen no evidence that "muscular Christianity" came in at any time to settle the contention.

But what a sad spectacle to the true Christian soul was here exhibited! These men came over to this country to occupy this land under a charter which made it one of their principal duties to extend the light of civilization and the influence of true religion over this western world, then overshadowed with the darkness of heathenism; to lead the red men of these forests to a knowledge of those great truths and principles, which would work out for them a social state, promotive of peace and good will, and elevate them to the dignity and happiness of children of God. But what a comment is here on the obligations of that charter, and what an illustration of the blessings of a Christian civilization! A few men in a wilderness, dependent on each other for sympathy and support, away from all aid and comfort but that of the unfailing Providence, quarreling with each other, and assuming God's prerogative in condemning each other, each denying the Christian character of the other, and refusing Christian fellowship, surrounded by savages, whose hearts they came here to soften by the power and example of the gentle influences of the true faith of Christ! But so it has been in all ages of the church. The truth of God is made to be a lie to the ignorant and uncultivated. What we call a religion of union and love, the speculations and creeds of men have converted into an agency to destroy the kindlier affections of life, and keep alive the fires of strife and ill-will in the heart.

Notwithstanding this unfavorable aspect of the moral condition of the church, we would not say that there was not something of the spirit of true religion abiding with the people. Elder Wentworth had gone off, abandoning the place before 1650; but Ezekiel Knight, William Hammond, William Cole, Philemon Pormotte, Edmund Littlefield, and other solid men were still here. They were persons of good and honest hearts, selected for important trusts, and active in advancing the settlement of the place. Knight may, possibly, be regarded as not entirely sound, from the fact that he consented to act with John Baker, who was denounced as drunken, lying, and worthless by the church in Boston, which excommunicated him, and





declared that Christ had ratified the excommunication by giving him up to Satan, as one of the agents of Colonel Alexander Rigby in allotting lands under the Lygonia Patent. A Christian should not be associated in business with one of that stamp. Fellowship with Satan in any kind of work will be very apt to poison some element of the soul; and in this very business which they had assumed he may have been led astray by Baker, as they allotted a tract of land on the western side of the Mousam river, and all persons, who have familiarized themselves with this part of the history of the State, know very well that no one pretended that Rigby's Patent covered that part of Wells. But still the evidence is satisfactory that Knight was regarded as a reliable man.

From the time when the commissioners left Wells, two years forward, there was here no regularly established ministration of the Gospel, and, of course, religion did not receive that attention which the public welfare demanded. The material interests of the world, in such a season, will gain the ascendancy over the moral. The spiritual will, to a great extent, be lost sight of; and in the eagerness of the pursuit of temporal interests, in the strifes which personal advantage may engender, men forget their higher and more important relations, and fall into habits of thought and action in no measure akin to those which religion inculcates. It does not appear that the true men of the town forsook the assembling of themselves together on the Christian Sabbath. Probably some of the laymen were in the habit of exhortation. Still the people went astray. Disorder and profanity prevailed, and intemperance added to its votaries.

After the dissolution of the church, by reason of the discord which ruled within the fold and the irregularities and misdemeanors of some who had been ejected from it, it may well be inferred that the people of Wells would not be in a very suitable frame of mind to set about the renewal of public worship and the re-establishment of the church. Professing Christians, whose faith rests on any other foundation than righteousness of heart and life, are too apt to indulge and manifest an arbitrary and sometimes a revengeful spirit toward those who do not feel to unite with them in carrying out their purposes. And especially in cases where contrariety of opinion has once resulted in division and its animosities and bickerings, the prospect of the restoration of unity and concord is not to be relied upon with any great confidence. Such is humanity that it will sometimes



find satisfaction in the humiliation and trials of those who do not accord with its own thoughts and prepossessions. Christianity finds enemies in its own household. Before the commissioners came to Wells, the church, by excommunication or voluntary excision, had been reduced to three members, and now these three were compelled, by the judgment of this court, to abandon the organization. All alike were out of the church, and the criminations and recriminations which such a state would excite may well be imagined. To settle a true man of God would be almost an impossibility. If one discovered that another, who had been instrumental in his deprivation of church privileges, was anxious for the employment of a particular person for the ministry of the word, the first impulse of his heart would be very likely to resist the measure, under the assurance that the sympathies and opinions of one so chosen would assimilate him to his opponents. Some would even be ready to install in the sacred desk a man of unholy temperament and life, provided he accorded with them in his theology. In the circumstances of this case, we are inclined to think the evil one had a good deal to do in the employment of a minister. Having lived two years in this graceless condition, the people, by some means, managed to engage Rev. Seth Fletcher to preach the Gospel. In 1655, he was hired by the year, without ordination, as a stated pastor. As might be expected, in this unfortunate state of feeling, the evil element seems to have gained the ascendancy. Any man, who is versed in the history of Massachusetts at this time, cannot fail to be conversant of the fact that the government had done much to engender a contentious and bigoted spirit, and thence, as an almost inevitable consequence, a wide departure from the teachings of Christ. Men were terribly persecuted for righteousness' sake, and the spirit of those in authority became the ruling spirit of their constituents. Bigotry and intolerance will work out an ungodly temperament in other relations, as well as in the church. These men of Wells could not be expected to be better than their rulers. The government represents the people.

Wells, in 1654, elected Hugh Gunnison as its representative, and in 1657 he was chosen representative from Kittery; but such had been his character that the general court refused to admit him as a member, charging him to be unfit for the office. He was a licensed rumseller, and, without doubt, his supporters in Wells were





men whose propensities found gratification by his ministrations. Though not criminal in law or morals, at that day, this vending of ardent spirit not unfrequently led to such a close communion and fellowship with the destroyer that the evil one had the soul of the vender in chains before he suspected he was in danger. We will not say that his election was an illustration of the character of the whole people. We assume that he was the true representative of a majority. The remainder, undoubtedly conscientious and of religious impulses, were men who fell in with the sentiment, then prevailing to a most lamentable extent, that the religion which the government had taken under its special care, or that which they felt to be in conformity with the teachings of the Gospel, was the only reliable basis of public happiness and prosperity. This class it was which enacted at this time that infamous law which denounced "the people commonly called quakers" as "a cursed set of heretics," and subjected any one inculcating their religious opinions to the most odious punishments. Thus in 1661, Judah Brown and Peter Pier-son, who had been in prison, were discharged from confinement, delivered to the constable, and tied to the cart's tail by the executioner, whipped through Boston with twenty stripes each, and then sent out of the colony, to be put to death if they returned. Thus Christianity has always found some of its worst enemies in the house of its friends.

Now it is very reasonable to presume that the inhabitants of Wells who sided with the religion of the Massachusetts government, voted with those whom we have supposed to constitute the majority for Mr. Fletcher, so that he may have received the vote of the whole people. Men who are the antipodes on moral and religious questions, and others of no moral stamina, are not unfrequently found uniting in a common object. Fletcher, we think, answered the purposes of all. Religious, according to the prevalent sentiment, in doctrine and in persecution of the quakers, there was in him but little of that sound moral sense, which the gospel requires of minister and people. In a letter from him at Elizabethtown, some years after this, to Increase Mather he says, "I have been much molested with Quakers here since I came, new ones coming in one after another." Some of these had enquired what he had to object against them. His reply was "that a Quaker, living and dying as a Quaker (without repentance), must find out a new gospel which might afford hope of





salvation; for what God hath revealed in his holy word, there was no salvation for them in their impenitent condition." He meant, of course, that there was no salvation for that sect. Quakerism must be repented of.

Although Mr. Fletcher was not without education, and was endowed with an intellect which might have elevated him to a high position in his profession, yet, losing sight of the first principle of Christianity, an abiding sense that he was a fallible man and forbidden to judge and condemn his brother on account of his opinions, he stirred up strifes and contentions wherever he undertook to minister the word. When one forgets his own weakness and ignorance, and denounces others better than himself as enemies of God, it may be safely assumed that he is not a man after God's own heart; and will show himself a disturber of the peace and destitute of true godliness. Accordingly he soon began to sow discord, and thus to excite to every evil work within his pastorate, and matters came to such a state that the general court were obliged to interfere; and at the session in May, 1660, the following order was issued:

"Whereas, some late difference seems to appear to us, between Mr. Fletcher, jr., and part of the inhabitants of Wells as touching his unfitness for the place of the ministry, which occasionally for near two years past, as is apprehended, relating both to the sanctifying of the Sabbath, and the performance of God's holy worship therein, hath drawn them into general neglects for future prevention thereof, it is therefore ordered by authority of this court, that due notice be given to the inhabitants of Wells and Mr. Fletcher, that they do make their appearance at the next county court at York, thereby either to justify those exceptions of unmeetness they seem to charge against him, or otherwise from them the said Fletcher may be acquitted."

These charges were undoubtedly made by those who professed to be the followers of Christ. If Fletcher, the minister, was indifferent to the sanctification of the Sabbath, the people would not be long in reaching the conclusion that the religious worship of the day was not material to a healthy spiritual state.

The people and the minister, agreeably to this order, appeared before the court at York, at the May term, with their available testi-



mony, and after hearing the same, the court determined to give no opinion in the case, but adopted the following order:

"Whereas, this Court by order of the last general court was appointed to hear and, as they see cause, to determine in matters of some difference depending between the town of Wells and Mr. Fletcher, having had the examination thereof, do judge meet upon due consideration to leave the said Fletcher and the town of Wells in the same state wherein the Court found them, giving the town in the meantime free liberty to procure some godly and able minister. And this court in the meantime to make return of the full state of the case as to them it appeareth, to the next general court."

This order was returned to the general court at its session in October, and after consideration the following injunction against Mr. Fletcher was issued: "The Court having perused the several evidences presented to this Court referring to Mr. Fletcher and the town of Wells, do judge meet to declare to the said inhabitants that they have not only liberty, but are hereby enjoined to procure some godly, able minister to be helpfull to them; and the said Fletcher is hereby enjoined to forbear any more to preach amongst them."

Notwithstanding this man was thus ejected from the pulpit in Wells, the very next year he was employed to preach the gospel in Saco and continued there a year. He preached at several other places, but was continually exciting dissensions. Still, we have reason to believe there was something in his ministrations which captivated the attention of many good men. The inhabitants of Wells were about equally divided the next year as to his fitness for the sacred office. After his dismissal he seems to have undergone some change which operated strongly in his favor, inducing nearly half of the people to wish for his restoration. In 1661 they addressed the following petition: "To the much Honored General Court of the Massachusetts Colony, assembled at Boston May 22, 1661.

This petition of ours, who are inhabitants in Wells, humbly sheweth to your right Worshipful, Worshipful, and much honored, that when as it hath been your good pleasure by an order dated Oct. 16, 1660, to enjoin Mr. Seth Fletcher to forbear preaching any more among us, we humbly and earnestly request that you would be pleased to take off the said injunction, and that the said Fletcher





may have liberty to accept a call and to settle himself amongst us, or any other people, for the dispensing of the unsearchable riches of Christ and the administration of his ordinances. Our grounds of our petitioning to you in this manner, on his behalf, being public, general and particular satisfaction, falling down at the feet of God and men, acknowledging whatsoever (concerning the differences that have been between some particular persons and himself) would be demanded of him. The truth and sincerity of his repentance, his practice doth declare by his humble and holy walking, with a manifestation of his desires not to offend or grieve the spirits of the least or weakest Christians, much less the spirit of Christ itself. And we hope (having no cause otherwise to think), but that if you shall please to yield to our humble implorations, he will prove very servicable and useful to the Church of Christ. Your pleasure to grant your favorable acceptance hereof, and causing us to enjoy our wishes and desires, and your supplicants shall pray God for the preservation of all their honored Assembly, and that under you we may lead a quiet and peaceful life in all godliness and honesty.

EDMUND LITTLEFIELD.

JOHN WADLEIGH.

JOHN CHEATER.

JOS. BOLLES.

ENSIGN JOHN BARRET.

WILL. BURKLAND.

JOHN WEST.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.

NICHOLAS COLE.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

THOMAS MUSSELL.

WILLIAM COLE.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, JR.

WILL. ASHLEY.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

WILL. HAMOND.

These men, for the most part, were exemplary inhabitants of the town, and their opinions were entitled to much respect. But the evidence was insufficient to satisfy the general court that Fletcher should be reinstated. We are not apprised of all the objections against him; but we have some reason to believe that he did not maintain that meek and quiet spirit so becoming to the true minister of Christ. After preaching one year at Saco, he seems to have lived in Wells two or three years, where his relations to his neighbors were not always of the most friendly character.

He was first recommended to the people of Wells by Rev. John Wheelright. We must necessarily infer that he was one of his followers, and preached the doctrines which he had inculcated—that



sanctification did not evidence justification—that there was no necessity of good works to a virtuous life. How long could morality and the graces of Christianity stand up under the promulgation of such principles by one claiming to be an Apostle of Christ? The passions of men might work *ad libitum*; and as to the peaceable fruits of righteousness, such a minister had no right to expect to witness them among his people.

Mr. Fletcher married the daughter of Brian Pendleton. After his last removal from Wells he went to Southampton, on Long Island, where he preached two or three years; and from thence to Elizabethtown, N. Jersey, in 1679, where he preached in the Presbyterian church, till he died in 1682. He probably improved much every way, in the years subsequent to his ministry in this place. It is said in the Historical Magazine that he left a large and valuable library, for the age in which he lived.

Wells was now without a minister, and not regarding the Sabbath, men were walking in the way of their own hearts. Vice and immorality had the field to themselves. But its condition being understood by the general court, they issued the following order: "Upon this Court's information of the want of a settled, able, and orthodox ministry in Wells, the accomplishment whereof through God's blessing, might prove an effectual remedy for healing and preventing much disorder, ignorance, and profaneness, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that the inhabitants of the town of Wells shall within six months time after notice given them thereof, use their utmost endeavors to procure some able and pious minister to carry on the work of God amongst them; in due performance whereof, if the town is found deficient, the Court, in the exercise of its power, will make such provision for its supply, as the laws of the jurisdiction require."

Whether the town desired it or not, the court were not willing that the great interests of the people should be lost in the vortex of selfishness and mere worldly pursuits; and they provided by law that every town should provide for the moral and religious culture of its inhabitants. The principle which was enunciated a hundred years afterwards by the father of his country, that religion and morality were indispensable supports of a nation's welfare, were then engrafted on the soul of every true patriot and sound legislator. But the developments of their religion, though springing from honest hearts,





were not very favorable to the promotion of a true moral growth. An able and pious minister, as understood at that period, must be one whose creed was trimmed according to the received theology. All others, as we have seen in the case of Wheelright, and we may add Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson and the many who were banished from that Colony, were regarded as in fellowship with the great adversary, and not allowed to preach the gospel as they understood it. How far the local authorities concurred in this view of the ministry, does not appear. But the people were divided in sentiment; some not respecting very highly the religious manifestations of the ruling powers, while others were in full accord with them. There may have been some middle ground, which some had discretion and consideration enough to maintain. But of this we have no knowledge, and therefore cannot state what were the views dispensed under the following order of the court sitting at York July 1, 1661:

"The town of Wells at present being destitute of any fit person to carry on the worship of God amongst them on the Lord's day, it is therefore ordered by this Court, that till they can better provide for themselves, which we hope they will not neglect any opportunity to do, that Mr. Ezekiel Knight and William Hammond shall duly attend the place of public meeting on the Lord's day, and there improve their best abilities in speaking out of the word of God, praying, singing of psalms, and reading some good orthodox sermons, as may tend to the edification of those that hear, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, as the laws of God and this jurisdiction require."

This order was not very efficient in advancing or maintaining the religious spirit among the townsmen. Knight was not of the most peaceful and gentle temperament, and amidst the political divisions which prevailed, his influence could not have been favorable to religious growth. The remedy was to be found only in the ministrations of some one who had no share in the strife, civil or ecclesiastical, which had so long been the bane of the settlement. It is very manifest that religion was not then very firmly enthroned in the hearts of the people, and but few took any deep interest in its ordinances. The spirit of the legislation, and the effect of judicial action under it were very unfavorable to sound morals, or to any strong attachment to Christian institutions. The people had not yet any fixed place of public worship; and without such a place of gathering for the flock on the Sabbath, but little progress can be made toward





the establishment of a permanent ministry. At the same court some of those who felt the necessity of a house of worship appeared and made complaint against the town for its failure in this respect, and the inhabitants were indicted "for their neglect in not appointing a place for public meeting on the Lord's day, to worship God in, according to their best abilities, till God's Providence do better provide for them, whereby many persons take liberty to neglect, if not profane the Sabbath."

That there was a lamentable profanation of the Sabbath during the whole period anterior to the first Indian war, no one who has carefully studied the early history of the province can doubt. Licentiousness was everywhere rampant. The sanctions of religion were disregarded; and men for the most part were heedless of law and of those moral obligations, a regard for which is indispensable, to social and civil progress. The moral atmosphere of Wells was in no respect more healthy than that of other portions of the province. The religious teachings, apparently, had been powerless for good. But the people were required to provide for the ministration of the word; and in 1664 Joseph Emerson was engaged as the minister of the town.

We are without definite knowledge of his peculiar qualifications for the sacred office. It is said by Felt, that "perhaps he was the son of Joseph Emerson of Ipswich." But of his education nothing is known. He preached at York in 1648, but in 1653 he lived in Wells, and was an inhabitant when the commissioners took the submission of the people, the court being holden at his house. He was a supporter of the claim of Massachusetts, and, necessarily, while the political dissensions continued, could not have had the warm support of a large part of the people. During his residence here, till the year 1664, we do not find him taking any part in the religious action of the town, or in its political or municipal concerns, excepting in signing a petition to Cromwell in 1656, that the province might be continued under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. It may be that he was a man of a very meek and quiet spirit, and so kept himself aloof from all the turmoils which were shedding their baneful influences over the souls of men. He was not a member of the church in 1653, the supporters of the Massachusetts theology having withdrawn from it, or been excommunicated. Having lived a quiet and secluded life for so many years, and avoiding all contro-



versy on the matters which agitated the public mind, the people may have united on him in the belief that he had abjured all partisan feelings, and would devote himself to the cause of peace and mutual good will. But at this period it was an impossibility for any settled minister to preach the gospel without subjecting himself to very trying persecution. Men were so sensitive, we mean those who had any religious impulses, that anything touching unfavorably upon their views of Christian doctrine, was at once branded as false and heretical. Ministers were charged as being liars when presenting any such unwelcome opinions. Thus Robert Jordan was indicted for saying, "John Cotton deceased was a liar, and died with a lie in his mouth, and that he was gone to Hell with a pack of lies;" John Thorp "for scandalizing Mr. Norton and saying he held forth false doctrines." Emerson was indicted the year before his settlement, while, perhaps, preaching as a candidate, for "telling of a lie," and again, "for speaking falsely." One, in those days, who could be a conscientious preacher, and maintain his position as a minister, must have had a wisdom which belongs to few of the present age. He soon lost his hold on the affections of the people, terminating his ministry at Wells in 1667. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Buckley in 1665. He was afterwards pastor of the church in Mendon, where he remained till that village was broken up by the Indians. He then went to Concord, where he died June 3, 1680.

We know not whether a church was organized during his ministry. We have met with no evidence tending to prove that fact. It would have consisted of such discordant materials, that it would not long have maintained any useful position.

The next minister was Rev. Jeremiah Hubbard. We have no records or relicts from which we can satisfactorily ascertain his own character or that of his ministry. What we have to say is mostly matter of inference. He came to Wells from Lynn, Mass., in 1667, and was engaged as the minister of the town for seven years. He does not appear to have been an educated man, but he had certain personal attributes which fitted him to gain the good-will of the people. He was one of a class in the ministry who would hold the attention of the people by his earnestness, rather than by the power of his logic. He evidently did not consider that the preaching of the Gospel and the moral welfare of the people, should be the exclusive objects to which his thoughts should be directed. The goods of





this world he regarded as necessary for himself as for any one else, and he was not disposed to let the town indulge a mean and selfish spirit. If he was to preach the Gospel, they were not only to keep their hearts open to receive the divine message, but were also to supply for him what was necessary to maintain the earthly tabernacle in soundness and comfort. The exhaustion consequent upon patient, persevering labor was to be made up by material compensation.

The people seem to have had some knowledge of him before he was engaged as their minister, and they made to him more generous offers than were usual in these small towns, just starting into life, and agreed to allow him £50 a year, which was, we suppose, nearly as much as the income of any man in the congregation. Life in those days was carried on in a very different way from that which rules at the present period. There were no men burdened down and enslaved by commercial prosperity, or by the result of those speculations whereby the tide of wealth has suddenly overwhelmed them, and washed all generous and benevolent affections from their souls; but every man lived by the sweat of his brow, compelling the earth to respond to his hard labor by giving him what his family needed to keep the spark of life burning within. To have been assured of such an annual income would have stayed and encouraged the heart of many of his hearers.

In addition to the fifty pounds, they agreed to give him thirty-three pounds to aid him in building a house, "a comfortable habitation," as it was termed, on any land which he might select; and that every man should give him a day's work in getting, cutting, and preparing his wood; and also, that he should have the use of the land set apart for the ministry, and that they would fence it and plow up the fallow part of it; also, that they would give him two or three hundred acres of upland and twenty or thirty acres of meadow; and if he should continue with them and die in the ministry, that one-half of the parsonage lot should be his and his heirs forever; and, as a further inducement, that his lands should be free from all taxes. If he should not remain with them during life, but should choose to remove from the town, they agreed to purchase his house and pay the price which referees might fix upon it; and on the acceptance of these proposals, they would remove free of expense, the



danger of the seas excepted, all his furniture and goods from Lynn to Wells.

These offers for the support of the ministry bear an aspect so different from anything before or after visible in our ecclesiastical history, that we do not know in what light to view them. They bear the mark of a generous Christian spirit, and attest an apparently living sense of the value of the services of the sanctuary. True, by law, the inhabitants were required to furnish reasonable support for a good orthodox minister, and if they did not do so the county court was authorized to compel them to make such provision; but what was here offered seems to have exceeded that requirement. It indicates that these propositions were not compulsory, but rather an emanation from honest-hearted, liberal souls. Still, they were insufficient to satisfy the demands of Mr. Hubbard, as a basis of his acceptance. He asked for the still further encouragement toward his settlement, that the town should pay him £63, in six months, to aid him in building his house; that they should haul all the timber to the site selected for it; that they should advance the rest of his annual salary for his present livelihood, and give him a farm at Four Mile Brook; and further, that he should have liberty, twice a year, to visit his relations and friends, in an absence of two or three weeks each time; and finally, that he should not be restrained from "the enjoyment of liberty of conscience therein by authority." Under the mutual assent to all these terms he agreed to "be minister of Wells, and, God willing, continue, desiring all jealousies and hard thoughts past may be forever buried, and love may continue and increase forever." These seem to be pretty severe demands on a people so poor as were those of Wells, and it is difficult to understand by what motives they were led to acquiesce in them.

Mr. Hubbard seems to have been compounded of elements not usually united. His propositions, in some degree, indicate that he was a little too grasping after this world's goods; but still he was high-minded, maintaining a proper respect for his manhood, and duly appreciating the responsibilities of the ministerial office. He claimed to understand the constitution of God's moral government, and he was determined to expound that constitution as he understood it. He knew with whom he had to deal, and meant, before he entered upon his work among them, to prepare the way for its faithful execution. He would preach against any heresies which he





thought were at war with the Gospel of Christ, or obstacles to the advancement of true piety, or he would not preach at all. He would denounce profanity, intemperance, lying, licentiousness, and everything inimical to the religion of Christ, let his words come home to whom they would. No man's sins, whether in the church or out of it, should be shielded from attack, in consequence of his position or influence. As a minister of Christ, while he occupied the pulpit he would fear no man, but boldly declare the whole council of God. This is the translation of "liberty of conscience" in the pulpit. Mr. Hubbard's resolution in this direction is one well worthy the attention of all who assume the high functions of the ministerial office. This cringing to power, or to the soulless demagogue in any station, is demeaning to the highest degree, especially to one who has the charge of the sacred desk.

But, unfortunately, this orthodoxy, though assented to in theory, does not, when carried out, always meet with a ready acceptance. Some souls, corrupted by some long indulged sin, wounded by the enunciation of divine truth, are always ready to rise up in rebellion against the independence of the pulpit, when, in the exercise of its freedom, it denounces the judgments of God against their cherished iniquity. Such men there are in almost every society, the enemies of God and man, the disturbers of the peace, and the bane of every Christian community.

Mr. Hubbard had agreed to minister to the people for the term of seven years; but his connection with them was dissolved in less than five months. We are uninformed as to the cause; but we have little doubt that it had its origin in the neglect of the inhabitants to carry out the programme of the settlement. Possibly he had exercised his liberty of conscience to a greater extent than some of his dissolute hearers anticipated. Some sudden ebullition of wrath, and consequent ill treatment, on account of some home-thrust of the sword of the Spirit, may have induced him to abandon his position. We, of the present day, are not unfrequently compelled to witness the same disruption of the best associations of life, from the same cause. Men and women are very sensitive as to matters suggestive of, or hinting at, their own aberrations. Some claiming to be Christians, even, do not relish the injunction of the apostle, that they should be freely admonished of their faults.





## CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME KENNEBUNK—HENRY SAYWARD—GRANTS TO SAYWARD, JOHNSON, AND PATTY—FIRST HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK VILLAGE—MOUSAM MILLS—CONFLICT OF TITLES TO THE MILLS—HENRY BROWN AND JAMES CARR—AVALANCHE ON KENNEBUNK RIVER—DISCONTENT TOWARD MASSACHUSETTS.

WE now turn our attention to the eastern part of the town, and chiefly to that portion of it which constitutes the present village of Kennebunk. Perhaps a more beautiful and romantic locality was not to be found on the coast of Maine than was, at that time, presented by the Mousam river and its vicinage. Could it have retained its original wildness until this day, when there is so much demand for water privileges and mill sites, and when in almost every town there is such a demand for manufactories, it is doubtful whether a community of intelligent and refined tastes would have consented to the desecration of the beautiful scenery by substituting in its place the noise, activities, and even profits of any of these establishments. The fall extended nearly half a mile, being in its whole descent about forty feet, and from the beginning to the end was overhung with magnificent oaks, standing on each side of the river and intertwining their branches, so that the stream glided along under an arch surpassing in grandeur and beauty any work of man which could be substituted in its place. The stately pines, out-vieing any now to be found in the vicinity, towering far above all other trees of the forest, stood along the banks, as watchmen, to guard against any vandalism which would attempt to intrude upon and violate its sacred magnificence. At their accustomed seasons, the stream was crowded with salmon, while the wilderness adjoining was vocal with the music of innumerable songsters. The whole scenery was entrancing in the highest degree. Romance here might have found indulgence to the full, and well might the sons of the



forest have called the place Kennebunk, meaning, as some Indian linguists say, the place "where he thanked him."

But the men of that day thought but little of romance or beauty. Life's earnestness was upon a far different errand. The pioneers did not come here to enjoy its splendid scenery. They were not educated for merely visionary life. They had not grown up in the midst of the refinements of aristocracy, or been trained to an education which finds its enjoyment in the contemplation of the marvellous works of the Almighty. Their daily bread was the great, moving impetus. They were compelled to bend all their energies to the support of their families and the acquisition of such a surplus of life's necessities as would meet the demands of feeble and declining years. They wrought for physical life and comfort, and nothing was beautiful to them which did not contribute to this important end. All this grandeur and magnificence, therefore, only awaited the pleasure of the first adventurer who should see on this stream an apt location for his saw-mill.

HENRY SAYWARD came over to this country from England in 1637. He resided a few years at Hampton and Portsmouth, and then came to York. He was by occupation a millwright and carpenter; a man of much enterprise and skill in his business. His services were much needed, as mills were the principal sources of income to the new settlers. Lumber had come to be in great demand, and every encouragement was given by the government toward their erection. He devoted himself to this employment for many years, and to the instruction of others in the like business. In this last respect he was of great service to the people of the town of York, to the towns adjoining, and perhaps to other parts of New England. He speaks of himself as having been so unremittingly employed in this way as to "have thereby neglected looking after land for himself and family, as others have done," while "by the blessing of God, he hath been very beneficial to the country and many persons therein, through several afflictions by the Providence of God it hath been but little to his own benefit; but most especially by reason of a sad Providence that happened in burning of his mills at York, wherein he lost a thousand pounds, which hath brought him much to be behindhand."





The misfortunes which thus fell upon him were not unmingled with good, for they brought to him unmistakable testimony of his high appreciation with the people. He had the best sympathies of all, and though they were poor, those who had had the benefit of his instructions and labors voluntarily came forward and did what they could to alleviate his distress and make up for his loss. The people could all say, as was said of the centurion, "he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue." He built the church in York in 1667; and meeting houses in those days, by those who had any sense of their relationship to the Almighty, were revered as indispensable to any community, and the builder drew to himself the interest, friendship, and good-will of those who were to have the benefit of his labors.

But it is to his misfortunes that we are to attribute the origin of the village of Kennebunk. Why he did not rebuild on the site of his burnt mill, we cannot answer in any other way than that the people of Wells so understood his character and usefulness that they pressed him to come here, and offered him all the encouragements in their power. Several of them had been to see him and told him of this fine site on Cape Porpoise river, in the midst of abundance of timber, to which easy access was to be had for the transportation of lumber. Induced by these favorable representations, Sayward, in 1669, abandoned his home in York and came to Wells, and, being satisfied with the eligibility of the situation, petitioned to the town for the necessary grant of the privilege. His petition was favorably received, and a grant of 300 acres on the east side of the river, and one acre on the west side, adjoining the falls, was made to him, provided he made improvements on the same in one year. At the same time a grant was made to James Johnson, of York, and a similar grant to Thomas Patty, of Wells, on the northeast side, subject to the same condition. There was also given to the three liberty to build a saw-mill, and also the privilege of the river for the transportation of lumber, with the right of cutting pitch-pine timber on the river for the use of the mill, upon the joint obligation of all to pay five pounds sterling annually, in lumber, to the town, payment to be made in merchantable boards at the market price, at some convenient landing place to which a boat might have access. The mill was to be built forthwith, as the first payment was to be made in one



year. No particular examination of the land had been made, and the extent and quality of the growth on it was unknown. The town was anxious for the erection of the contemplated mill.

This grant was surely a highly favorable one to the grantees, when viewed in all its relations. The falls, extending so far down, gave them an opportunity of building the dam at the beginning of the descent, and carrying the flume to any distance necessary to obtain the proper power. The expense of the dam was thus very small, the depth of the water being only four or five feet. It was thirty or forty rods above the present one.

In consequence of the difficulties which had arisen in regard to the proprietorship of the province of Maine, it was feared that this grant from the town might not give a reliable title, and therefore Sayward made application to the general court of Massachusetts for liberty of cutting timber on the neighboring land, and for so much meadow and upland as they, in their wisdom, might think meet and convenient, which might be, "by God's blessing, a support and means to help him in the clearing of his engagements, and after his decease be left as a memorial of their worship's favor to his wife and children." The grants were made agreeably to his request, "he not entrenching on any man's propriety."

The first step was to provide for themselves suitable shelter and household accommodation. They accordingly erected a small house in the field opposite the beginning of the falls, six or eight rods west of Alfred street. This was the only house on the territory of Kennebunk village for the following half century. The site of the cellar is still to be seen.

Before they began the erection of the mill, Johnson sold out to Sayward all his interest in the privilege. Patty then followed his example, and also transferred to him his right. The prospect, from some cause or other, was not very encouraging. They were away from all civilized men. Settlers had selected the seaboard as places of habitation. There were yet no roads for the accommodation of those who thus sat down in the wilderness. Their only companions were to be Indians, not always reliable as friends, yet up to this time there had been no manifestations, on their part, adverse to the improvements which civilization was attempting, though two or three years previously some of the leading men had entertained fears that an unfavorable feeling had been engendered in the bosoms of the





natives, which might break forth in much trouble to the settlers. Johnson and Patty may have abandoned on this account, but it is more likely that Sayward's projects were on too large a scale to commend themselves to his co-partners. He was for laying out an establishment which would outvie anything yet set on foot in Maine. There was here an opportunity of erecting buildings of a superior order, worthy of the civilization which had just been introduced to these shores. But Johnson and Patty did not cherish such high aspirations. The expenditures of the projected mills looked to them too large for the means under their control, and they retired from the concern. Sayward had thus the whole burden of the work upon himself, but he was unmoved from his purpose. He may not have well considered the enterprise on which he had embarked, and did not exercise that prudent and cautious foresight which would have brought to his vision the difficulties which he must necessarily encounter in the progress of the establishment. He had not the pecuniary means to meet the required expenditures. It required no small amount of lumber, at that time, to pay for imported articles which he must need. All the materials necessary for the operation of the mill, and all supplies for family use, must be obtained from Boston, by means of the coasters. Whether there were any accommodations for females in the small house which had been built we do not know. The millmen alone, we think, occupied the house.

Sayward was not satisfied with the land which he now possessed, and before beginning on his mill he purchased of Daniel Eppes, of Ipswich, the farm previously belonging to Gooch Austin, on the river below, promising to pay for it in boards; and if not paid for at the time specified, the deed was to be void, and he to pay double rent. Perhaps the farm was obtained for the accommodation of his wife and family. The purchase may speak well for his affection and domestic attributes, but it savors too much of that inconsideration and rashness which mark the action of many kind hearted and easy men of the present day. We have no knowledge of this Gooch Austin. His name does not appear again. It is probable that he was an inhabitant of some town at the west, perhaps Ipswich, where Eppes lived. Though it is called a farm, we think it was never brought under cultivation.

Sayward went forward in the work of building his saw-mill, and completed it in the year 1672. But this erection did not satisfy his





idea of what ought to be done here. He must also build a grist-mill. Where the grist was to come from he did not stop to inquire. Some of the Alnaki Indians had, indeed, accustomed themselves to the annual raising of a little corn, and possibly their number was sufficiently large in the neighborhood to justify the conclusion that their patronage would partially remunerate him. He evidently calculated on a large business from some quarter. He placed two sets of stones in the mill, and was thus prepared to do a good deal of work. He gave to the whole establishment the name of Mousam mills, by which they were always thereafterwards called. The reasons for this appellation have not been ascertained. Previously to this period, the river had been known by the name of Cape Porpoise; soon after, it was called Mousam. The change was probably wrought by this designation of the works on it. It would be natural, in referring to the Mousam mills, as common in the intercourse of life, to give the same name to the territory about it and to the river on which the business of the mill was done. But why Sayward gave it the name Mousam neither record nor tradition reveals to us. The mills afterwards built on the falls next above were called Cat Mousam mills, from some singular catastrophe, which has now escaped our memory, to the domestic animal, a material concomitant of almost every family. Perhaps some peculiar or unusual incident, in which a mouse was involved, in the progress of his work, led Sayward to apply this name to his mills, and the upper was called Cat Mousam, as significant of superiority of that mill over the lower. We do not believe that the name was of Indian origin. There is no apparent reason why, at this time, it should have been substituted by them for the ancient name of Cape Porpoise.

In order to complete his works, Sayward had involved himself in debt to a considerable amount, and he had no sooner finished his building than he was called upon by his creditors to secure their demands against him. He had spent his all in their construction, and was now owing large debts in Boston. Robert Gibbs called upon him for the payment of his account of twelve or thirteen hundred dollars, and he was obliged to mortgage the whole mill and privileges, with his dwelling house and all his land on the east side of the river, to secure to him the payment of that sum. The next year he was obliged to mortgage the same to Simon Lynde of Boston, excepting one-half of the house. Two years after, in 1675, he sold his



land below the mill to John Brown and James Carr. But it does not appear that this sale helped him in the troublesome exigency to which the expenditures on the mill had brought him. He did not pay his debts, and in a short time, in 1675, worn out, we suppose, by his exposure in accomplishing this work, and by the anxiety growing out of his large indebtedment, all his grand projects were terminated, and he was called to pay the great debt which nature requires of all

Sayward was one of the best of men, but enterprise was too prominent an element of his character. He needed cautiousness and discretion to check his zeal. He anticipated no failure. Ardent in his pursuits, he never doubted their successful termination. He gave himself to his work, as confident of a favorable issue as if already reached; and thence, from a want of considerate previous examination, disappointment came from all his exertions. He was in no degree extravagant in his domestic economy. There was no opportunity for a thoughtless and lavish expenditure. He lived on the plainest fare, and all the furniture which his wife had to carry on her household administration was, three beds, a few old pewter dishes, three keelers, two iron pots, two brass kettles, two old tubs, a tramel and pot-hooks, a spit and irons, two water pails, a pair of cards, two table boards, a spinning-wheel, meat-trough and chest. This, we should now regard as rather poor provision for comfortable life. Chairs were not then in vogue very extensively. But all his struggles, notwithstanding his economy, left him in complete insolvency at the close of life; so that nothing remained for his wife and children but her dower in his real estate, and the memory of his virtues and manly character. Fifty years' hard labor, closing in poverty, seems to have been a severe destiny for him. Left almost penniless, his wife Mary, after the severe struggles through which she had passed, was obliged to remove to some more public place and resort to the low business of rumselling without license, to keep herself from becoming a burden to the people.

The next year, 1678, James Lynde, of Boston, gave public notice that he objected to any grant of administration on these mills, and to any inventory of one-half of the house and one-half of the mills, as the property of Sayward, claiming that they were his by virtue of the mortgage. In 1679 Symon Lynde made a similar objection, claiming that all was his. And in the same year Jonathan Corwine and his wife cautioned all persons against inventorying this saw-mill





and three hundred acres of land as Sayward's, as the same were forfeited and belonged to Robert Gibbs, and that he now had possession of the same by virtue of his mortgage.

These mills were all completed just before the commencement of King Phillip's war, and a road was ordered by the court, from Wells by them to Saco. Previously to this time unbroken amity had prevailed with the Indian tribes. Probably in the progress of the work Sayward had availed himself of their aid, and the idea of any dangerous conflict with them had never entered his mind. The Indian character was very imperfectly understood. Its more complete development was now about to be realized. They were peaceful and inoffensive when everything went on to their satisfaction, but when any wrong came home to them it awakened in their untutored breasts a vengeance, not to be satisfied by merely rendering a return of evil equal to that received. They were then engaged in almost continual wars with each other, and at such times vengeance had no limits in the amount of injury to be inflicted. Every cruelty was resorted to, and they wreaked out their malice with an unsparing hand.

It may well be supposed that the position of all property here must have been exceedingly precarious; and that Sayward could not but feel that all his hopes might be blasted in a moment. King Phillip's war began in 1675. At this time there was not a single inhabitant, excepting his own workmen, whom he could call to his aid at the mills, which were remote from the inhabited part of the town. The site of the present village was an entire wilderness. The dense forests of oak and pine had not been interfered with by the woodman's axe. The Indian, the wolf, the bear, claimed all around as their dominion, where they had liberty to follow their impulses unrestrained. But there was little fear of the wild beasts. The red man, inspired as he was by the labors of French Jesuitry, with the assurance that the English were about to wrest from him his long enjoyed hunting grounds, had now become ready, on any trifling occasion, to assert his rights and vent his vengeance on these intruders upon his God-given domain. The tomahawk and the scalping knife awaited only their fit opportunity. The terrors of Indian warfare soon manifested themselves to the scattered settlers of New England; and Sayward was of necessity obliged to abandon his works, and flee for refuge to some of the garrison houses. Of what avail could it have



been for him with his single arm to remain there? He must fight his own battles against whatever odds. It would have been madness to fight an enemy where defeat and captivity or death were sure. He was not without consideration of his moral responsibilities; understanding his relationships to God and man. He did not bury himself in the woods to escape his social and civil obligations. Though seven or eight miles from the house of God, he was a liberal supporter of public worship, which fact throws much light on his character. Though, as a general postulate, no personal attributes were a protection against Indian violence, yet there were persons whose gracious deportment toward the sons of the forest, was not without its effect on the savage heart. We are inclined to think that Sayward was one of that class, for although he fled from his mills, leaving them to the mercy of the savage foe, yet they remained safe through all the ravages and desolation of this Indian war.

Notwithstanding the cautions of the several mortgagees, these mills were included in the inventory of the estate of Henry Sayward. They were appraised at £1,200, about 4,000 dollars. And as all this value was given to the mills alone, the land at this time being of little worth, they must have been built in a style altogether beyond the demands of the age. After the war was over in 1680, Corwin recovered judgment on his mortgage, and took possession of them under the title of Gibbs. We suppose he was never a resident of Kennebunk. He was a man of considerable note, residing in Salem, and was one of the judges in the disgraceful trials for witchcraft. The mills were entrusted to the care of Henry Brown and James Carr, Scotchmen. These men in 1679, had taken a grant of the land on both sides of the river, bounding on the mill lot. The brook, always termed "the Scotchman's Brook," passed through this land. They came over to this country to engage in business of this kind, bringing with them several mechanics as auxiliaries to their work. They added to the establishment a blacksmith's shop on the western side of the river, and operated the mills very successfully. They enjoyed every facility for the transaction of business. Vessels came up to the Falls, and took their lumber from the landing place. The coasters were of a small burthen, and found no difficulty in entering the river. The inventive powers of man had not then perfected the saw-mill; and the amount of work which it accomplished, we suppose would be small in comparison with the daily results of





operations at this period; but in 1682 one man sawed about 160,000. The coasters engaged in the transportation of lumber, supplied the workmen with all that they needed from Boston, so that, though dwelling in the wilderness, they had all the comforts of life, with the exception of those which flow from social and Christian converse. They were away from the haunts of civilized man, but, like our modern lumbermen, who spend their winters in the woods, away from their families, they enjoyed the activities of the day and the repose of the night; amusing each other in rehearsing stories of Scottish life beyond the water, and possibly with the sweet notes of the bagpipe. They seem to have been men, *sui generis*. The joys of connubial life did not take hold of their hearts. They had no wives or children. They worked here five or six years. How much prosperity followed their labors we cannot say. No addition had been made to the settlement. The wolf, undisturbed by the inroads of civilization, still continued his nightly howlings; and the wild-cat, the bear and the moose still roamed freely through the forests. Such surroundings would not, indeed, commend themselves to the timid souls of the female sex. To them nothing could be more hideous than the night cry of the wolf. The proximity of the savages also, of whose vengeance a few years preceding, they had been witnesses, would be sufficient to send continual dismay to their fearful hearts. No woman would commit her destinies to the care of one who had thus chosen to make his life one of unceasing peril. All the enjoyments of the wedded relation must be more than neutralized by perpetual fear. These men had every viand which could allure the appetite. The woods abounded with game of every kind; and the Mousam teemed with salmon, wending their way to the great pond.

These men being habituated to their condition, very probably had come to enjoy this doleful music of the wilderness. Perhaps it soothed their wearied spirits to their nightly rest. Their intercourse with the natives may have been profitable, and all fears had been subdued, while amidst the beautiful scenery of the long falls, they were led to regard their position as highly captivating; and thence they could not understand why it was that not a single family should be disposed to share with them in its advantages. Perhaps invitations had been extended to some to form with them the most intimate relation of life, and these invitations had touched no accordant





note, and that for this cause they had foresworn all connections with the sex.

Whatever may have been the inducement, they adopted the resolution that none should be sharers in the results of their labors while one of them remained. In the stillness of evening, when the deep shadows of night were all about them, they meditated and talked of their solitary condition. The outward world had no claim on their beneficence. They felt that their position was by no means a safe one; that they had no sure hold on life. But they declared, each for the other, the strongest love and affection. They were not misanthropes; but the sharing of common joys and common exposures, had rooted in their hearts an attachment stronger than that any which the natural relations of life had previously implanted within them. They had in their company a third person by the name of Robert Stuart, who, we suppose, was also of Scotch origin. After meditating on the uncertainty of life, they all came to the solemn determination, that should either of them be taken away the survivors should be the absolute owners of all his estate; houses, lands, cattle, money, goods, movables and immovables, and the same should be the unchangable law with the survivors, so that the last should be the absolute owner of all that they possessed; and this agreement was sanctioned by a solemn written contract, under seal, declaring that all property of either was the absolute property of the others, and that when one deceased, to the survivors or survivor belonged the whole estate. From the provisions of this contract there was no appeal. Though afterwards separated, no discharge could be had from its demands. The responsibilities were for life.

Operations were continued at the mills until the renewal of hostilities in 1688. It may here be added, that in the biographical sketches which we have given of the members of Wheelright's church, it is stated that Philemon Pormott, the "Boston schoolmaster," left the town before the incorporation, and that nothing is known of his subsequent life. But in the year 1680, his two sons, Elias Pormott and Lazarus Pormott, worked in this mill. But whence they came or whither they went we are unable to state.

A new Indian war now broke out, to the great discomfiture of all the people. As a monition of the rupture of their peaceful relations, the Indians, we conclude, as was their wont, deserted all their wigwams, so that all had notice in season for self-defense and preserva-



tion. The occupants, from necessity, fled from the mills. All over the province the people were obliged to flee to the garrisons. The works were left to the mercy of the Indians. Destruction marked the path of the enemy. Houses and buildings in great numbers were laid waste. Cattle were killed; men, women and children murdered or taken captive; and these mills, built at so great cost, were committed to the flames, and nature resumed, and for many years exercised, the original and exclusive jurisdiction which she had long ages before enjoyed. So closed the first act of the drama of civilized life on the banks of the Mousam.

What became of the possessors of the mill, we are not informed. They soon after ceased to be inhabitants of the town. Stuart made no improvement on the land allotted to him. It remained many years unoccupied. It was then granted to Joseph Preble, a minor, who was to improve it by the time he came to mature age. Sayward did not pay the annual rent of the land which had been conveyed to him; so that all these lands, for aught we can see, reverted to the town, if the right to them was ever in the corporation.

These works at Mousam, the houses of John Sanders and Harding, were the only buildings which are known to have been on what is now the territory of Kennebunk in 1675. The wilderness was elsewhere untouched by civilized man.

Nature still maintained all her grandeur, though the woods were not trackless. There was some intercourse between the mills and the harbor. The accounts of the great event of 1670, of which so much was said at that period, would seem to make that fact certain. In that year, says Hubbard, in his History of New England, "an ominous accident fell out" here. "At a place called Kennebunk in the North East side of Wells, not far from the river side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapor over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the river. The said ground so thrown up, fell in the middle of the river and stopped the course thereof, and leaving a hole forty yards square in the place whence it was thrown, in which were found thousands of round pellets of clay, like musket balls. All the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of this relation; and several others have seen sundry of these clay pellets, which the inhabitants have shown to their neighbors of other towns." This ominous accident was regarded by leading men of the day as a wonderful event. It was the subject of long letters





from Governor Winthrop and others to persons in England. Two of them we subjoin.

"Boston Oct. 11, 1670. My Lord: The relation which I am now presenting to your Lordship, is of a very strange and prodigious wonder this last summer in this part of the world; that the like hath not been known for the whole manner of it I do not remember that I have read or heard. There was a hill near Kennebunk river in the Province of Maine, the Eastern part of New England, which is removed out of its place, and the bottom turned upwards. The time is not certain when it was done, but that it is so is very certain, and it is concluded by those who live nearest to it that it was removed either the latter end of June or the beginning of July last. The relation I have from creditable persons respecting it, is this, that the hill being almost eight rods from Kennebunk river's side on the West side of the river, about four miles from the sea, was removed from its place over the dry land about eight rods or perches, and over the tops of the trees also, between the hill and the river, leaping as it were over them into the river, where it was placed the upper part being downward, and dammed up the river till the water did work itself a passage through it. The length of the hill was two hundred and fifty feet, the breadth almost eighty and the depth of it almost twenty feet. The situation of the place as to the length of it was North West to South East. The earth of it is a blue clay without stones; many round bullets were within it, which seem to be of the same clay hardened. I have not seen the place myself, but sent purposely to enquire into the truth of what had been reported concerning it. I had this relation from Major William Phillips who dwelleth not far from the place, and Mr. Hartakendon Symons who went to the place and took very good notice and brought me the same report of the truth and manner of it, which I had before received from Major Phillips, in answer to my letter of inquiry, and told that the earth of the hill did not lie between the former place of the hill and the river, which seems to be as it were blown up by such force as carried the whole body of it so far together. I had from them some few of those round bullets which were found upon that now upper part, which was before the lower or inner bowels of the hill, as also a small shell or two, of a kind of shell fish commonly found where the sea flows, but how they should be within the hill is strange to



consider. I have sent all that I had from thence to the Royal Society for their repository. I understand also from those parts, that there was no notice taken of an earthquake about that time, nor did I hear of any in any other part of the country. I give your Lordship only a relation of this prodigy as I had it, upon the best inquiry I could make, leaving the discussion of the natural causes which might concern a matter too hard for me to comprehend; but the power of his Almighty arm is too manifest to all who weigheth the hills in a balance, and in whose presence the heavens drop, the hills are melted like wax. Sinai itself is moved.

I hope to have an opportunity to see the place, and if any other matter considerable upon my observations or further inquiry shall appear, I shall be obliged to give your Lordship a further account thereof, and for the present am bold to subscribe myself,

Your right honorable Lordship's humble servant,

To the Lord Brereton.

JOHN WINTHROP.

John Winthrop, it is well known, was the governor of Massachusetts. Major William Phillips lived in Saco. Hartakendon Symons had lived in Wells, but in 1661 moved to Salem.

Extracts from a letter from Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop, dated April 11, 1671 :

"I soon delivered to the said Society (the Royal Society) their parcel, viz: the shellfish (called horsefoot), the Humming Bird's nest, with the two eggs in it, being yet whole, the feathered fly, and the shells, bullets and clays taken out of the overturned hill, for all which that noble company returns you their hearty thanks. These curiosities being viewed at one of our public meetings, some of the company conceived that what you call the sharp tail of the Horsefoot, is rather the fore part and nose of the fish; the same persons having also found that two of the knobbs on the shell, now dried up by the manner of their ductuss, express that they had looked toward the said nose when the animal was alive. The humming bird's nest was also showed to his Majesty, who was as much pleased with it as the Society; and I doubt not that Sir Robert Moray will tell you the same."

"Concerning the overturned Hill, it is wished that a more certain and punctual relation might be procured of all the circumstances of



the accident. It seems strange that no Earthquake was perceived, and that the Hill is said to be carried over the tops of the trees into the river, also that people being near it, should not know the day when this happened."

He hopes also, that Lord Brereton, to whom Winthrop had told the story, will write Winthrop and request further examination.

These letters, and others on the same subject, we suppose, gave rise to much philosophizing in regard to the cause of the phenomenon. It would be interesting, and, we think, amusing to read the speculations which were then published on the subject; but they are not within our reach. Joscelyn in his voyages, says that this strange event took place about four miles from the sea. The miles of the first adventurers to this country were very uncertain. They generally magnified distances. It might have been four miles; or it might have been but two. It has been supposed to have occurred at the Landing, at what is called the Roundabout. It might have been below Durrell's bridge.

It is said that all the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of the relation which these writers make. It does not appear that any one was a witness of this wonderful affair when it transpired. It was probably discovered by some one traveling to the mills, and his account of it drew many to the scene. This was an age of wonders, and every visitor would come prepared to look at it as some strange display of the power of the elements, or as some miraculous manifestation of the Infinite.

No intelligent person of the present day can hesitate a moment as to the explanation of this strange event. The same thing has occurred several times within the last fifty years. Oak trees then stood all along the banks of the rivers, and this wonder was one of those avalanches from the banks which have been of so frequent occurrence. Sometimes the trees have gone down with them. At other times, the earth has slid down into the river, dividing at obstructions by trees or other obstacles, and uniting again after passing them, as it was at the White Mountains, when the Willey family were destroyed. The slide divided when it came near the house, and again united after passing it, leaving the house untouched, so that these astonished men would have said the earth was thrown over it. The little pellets, which were spoken of as seen after the slide, were rolled up by the avalanche as it passed over the solid ground beneath.





From this period until 1675 nothing occurred in the town which we judge to be a material part of its history. The settlement made no important progress. The discontented under Massachusetts government had not ceased their complaints against the groundless claim which that colony was maintaining against the rights of the Gorges proprietor; so that, though some had come into the town with the purpose of abiding, they did not find the location satisfactory, and soon abandoned it for New Hampshire, or some other place west, where political agitations were not so rife, and where titles were more securely fixed. We are led to believe that, though the people of Wells had, for a while, acquiesced in the authority of Massachusetts, there was now again springing up among them some disaffection, which was the cause of disorder and ill feeling among the people. Orders were sent by government of that colony to Lieut. John Littlefield to exercise his authority in putting down any disturbance which might show itself, after consulting with Samuel Wheelright and William Sayer as to the expediency and mode of action. We have no knowledge of the persons concerned in the outbreak, but it was one which required the attention of the civil authorities. It may have grown out of some town action, as the following document seems to be suggestive of some trouble in municipal affairs: "Whereas, Mr. Samuel Wheelright, William Hammons, John Littlefield, Samuel Austin, James Gooch are chosen selectmen for the town of Wells this present year, we, the inhabitants thereof, do hereby give and grant unto them full power and liberty to do and act all manner of prudenshall acts, in and for the inhabitants of the aforesaid town, except the disposing of lands and marsh. Given under our hands this 18th day of June, 1670."

ABRAM TILTON.

NATHANIEL MASTERS.

JOHN BENNET.

THOMAS BOSTON.

JOHN GOOCH.

PETER CLOYES.

WILLIAM ASHLEIGH.

JONATHAN HAMMONS.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

FRANCIS BARKHOUSE.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT.

If the selectmen were legally chosen, there was no necessity of any special authority of this kind to enable them to discharge the duties of the office. A dozen of the inhabitants could neither give power nor take it away.



## CHAPTER X.

GRANT TO ISRAEL HARDING—INDICTMENTS AGAINST HARDING AND WIFE—  
LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS—MEETING HOUSE AND PARSONAGE BUILT—  
FIRST PAUPER—DUCKING STOOL—MORDAN'S CAVE—NATHANIEL BOSTON—  
LIQUOR LAWS.

THE inhabitants of the town had been anxious to extend the settlements. Those who had taken up lands, and were in the pursuit of their husbandry or milling, felt the necessity of an increase of population, and more especially of the addition of professional men; but the long contention about the title to the whole province was a constant check to immigration. Some were yearly induced to come in and wait future developments. Mechanics were very much needed, and special encouragement was offered to those who would come and here locate themselves. In 1670, Israel Harding, a blacksmith, applied for a grant of land, and 200 acres were given him, on the condition "that said Israel Harding do come into the town as an inhabitant within three months; do continue five years an inhabitant, and do the smithwork for the inhabitants for such current pay as the town doth produce. If the said Harding do desert, the land to revert to the town."

The principle suggested by the foregoing vote is one which, it seems to us, it would be wise in all our towns to adopt, if the law would permit. If it had continued to be the prerogative of these corporations, down to the present day, to determine who should be inhabitants, as it was at this early period, in most places we might have exhibited a condition of society not paralleled in any part of the world; and if towns had been invested with the more important power of encouraging settlers, such as they should choose, by liberal benefactions, we might have had a people who would have taken pride in building up settlements and villages distinguished for their high civilization. All intemperance, idleness, vices of various kinds, and other oppositions to a sound moral sentiment might have been





warded off, and a spirit of social and material improvement ruled in all municipal councils. Though, owing to the imperfection of even our best humanity, and the variety of sentiment natural to the race, these important objects would sometimes fail to be realized. Israel Harding did not turn out to be the man after the heart of the people, as was expected of him. He became a troublesome element in the population, by the liberty which he took of freely speaking of the current religion, and thereby creating no small excitement. He was boisterous and loud in his denunciations of ministers, and while pounding at the anvil, was more vehemently pounding at Congregationalism. He was probably honest-hearted, but he felt that the Christian religion was entire liberty, and that any restraint of it was a violation of his rights. He did not believe in public worship sustained by burdens imposed on the people, but believed that the Gospel was intended as, and should be, a free offering to all. Though the law required every man to attend the meeting at the sanctuary on the Lord's day, he gave no heed to it. His wife was imbued with the same spirit. The people could not endure his continued slander of religious institutions, and of the worthy men who were laboring to make them efficient for their benevolent purposes. He was presented at court for not attending public worship on Sunday; his wife was afterwards presented for the same cause. But these proceedings only increased his virulent spirit against ministers and people who sustained them. His tongue was set on fire by the opposition which he met. Assuming to preach the Gospel himself, ranting against its forms, ceremonies, and impositions on the people, and the theology so dear to their hearts, he broke in upon the order and peace of the church. He was again complained of in court, and "convicted of very disorderly practices, presumptuously taking upon himself the office of a minister to preach and baptize contrary to his Majesty's laws." The court admonished him for his "disorderly practices," that he had no call from God for his irregularities, and that if he persisted in his unwarrantable course all his lands should be confiscated. But still the unruly member was not checked. The rebel spirit was only quickened and strengthened by these persecutions. As soon as he was discharged he was again at his work, exercising what he deemed his rights, preaching against ministers and churches, and fomenting discord and confusion all around him. He was arrested a third time, and brought to the bar to answer for his mistea-



sances; was convicted "of several presumptuous miscarriages, and his abusive and reproachful language against ministers, ministry, and preaching thereof, to the dishonor of God and the destruction of the way of the Gospel;" and was fined five pounds. Whether his ardor was cooled by this procedure we cannot answer. We have learned nothing further of him.

If the Acts of the Legislature are to be regarded as exponents or developments of Congregationalism, it is not strange that many men and women should have abjured it as a moral pestilence, sweeping away the rights of humanity, and as the sure bane of free thought and personal and social enjoyment. About this time it would seem as if the law-makers were intent on making life a mere abstraction, having in it nothing free, nothing emotional, nothing satisfactory or exciting. Every man's volitions or actions were prescribed by some rule, which would establish a dead uniformity through all the features and activities of human society. They denounced all manifestations of individual taste, all exhibitions of peculiar thought, all attempts to imitate the beautiful in nature, or to break up the monotony which these wiseacres deemed the only acceptable service of the good Providence. A zerophagy, spiritual as well as material, was to be the regular canon of life.

If it were within the reasonable limits of a town history, to justify the position here assumed; we would lay before our readers the law of Massachusetts as enacted, year after year, to the disparagement of the natural liberty, rights, and aspirations of the people. But in this regard we are compelled to feel ourselves under the ban. Still, though much of a similar character will find its way into this history, we cannot forbear the exhibition of some of this unwholesome legislation in this place, which is averred to have been necessary by the divine judgments, and indispensable to the prosperity of the church. It was alleged as the basis of the following enactments that the matters anathematized therein were brought upon the settlements by the wrath of God, manifested in giving to the barbarous heathen commission to rise up against the people, to burn and destroy the plantations, and to murder the settlers. Accordingly, they make the following exhibitions of their legislative wisdom: "Whereas, there is manifest pride openly appearing amongst us, in that, long haire, like women's haire, is worn by some men, either their own or others' haire made into perewigs, and by some women





wearing borders of haire, and their cutting, curling, and immodest laying out their haire, which practice doth prevail and increase, especially among the younger sort;" it was ordered that such offenders should be arraigned, admonished, or fined at the discretion of the court. And again: "Notwithstanding the wholesome laws already made by this court for restraining excess in apparell, yet through corruption in many, and neglect of due execution of those laws, the evil of pride in apparell, both for costliness in the poorer sort, and vaine, new, strainge fashions, both in poor and rich, with naked breasts and arms, or, as it were, pinioned with the addition of superstitious ribbons, both of haire and apparell;" such offenders were also to have meet punishment for their sins.

It was also enacted, about this time, as one of the articles of war, "that no man should presume to blaspheme the Holy and Blessed Trinity; God, the Father, God, the Son, and God, the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot iron." It was also declared that "men's thresholds are set up by God's thresholds, and man's posts by God's posts, especially in the open meetings of Quakers, whose damnable heresies, abominable idolatries are hereby promoted, embraced, and practised, to the scandal of religion, hazard of souls, and provocation of Divine jealousy against the people;" and therefore the constable was directed to apprehend all persons found at such Quaker meetings, and have them before the court to receive due punishment, after being kept on bread and water for three days, etc.

There were no accommodations for public worship, and the inhabitants would not be induced to interest themselves in providing a suitable place until the town was indicted, in 1661, "for neglect in not appointing a place for a public meeting on the Lord's day, according to their best abilities, till God's providence do better provide for them, whereby many persons take liberty to neglect, if not profane, the Sabbath." An indictment for not building a meeting house, though effectual for its erection, would not go far toward instilling a love of the sanctuary in the hearts of the people.

Legal suasion in matters of religion, we do not think carries with it any good results. The Inquisition, so frequently appearing in history, never did much for the regeneration and moral improvement of men. But the people were obliged to respond to this demand, made upon them by judicial authority, and between this time and 1664





some kind of a house or chapel was built. It was near the site of the meeting house now standing. This erection may have inspired them with some little ambition, for the next year they built on the parsonage lot a house for the Rev. Joseph Emerson, who was then the minister of the town. Still, a very selfish spirit ruled in all classes, and some hard pressure was needed to induce them to open their hearts to any duty beyond mere personal advantage. The first case of local pauperism occurred in 1669, and the town would not come to the aid of the sufferer till compelled to do so by the same judicial authority. One John Reed, an inhabitant of Wells, had taken care of an unfortunate lame man, who had fallen into distress, and the town would do nothing to relieve him of the burden, so that he was obliged to seek his remedy in court, which required the inhabitants to take care of the sufferer, and to pay the bill of expense incurred by Reed. The court also found it necessary that a jail should be built for the use of the county, and submitted the question to the towns whether it should be built; but the town voted nay.

There was very little public spirit among the people. Religion had but little influence upon the lives of the people. There was not enough of it to make it any blessing to their souls. The principle that we are to do to others as we would have them do to us was shoved out of the way, and meaningless speculation substituted in its stead. Those manly sympathies which should bind communities together, we think, had but little place in the teachings of those who were the authorized expounders of Christian truth.

We are aware that the representation which we have made of the character of the early inhabitants of the town may somewhat surprise our readers. Some may think that it is overdrawn, or that it would have been better to let their frailties perish with them. It must be understood that we have been speaking only of the period before the Indian wars.

History is the legacy to subsequent humanity for its instruction. The lesson here taught is of incalculable benefit. Where ignorance is the prevailing feature in society, the stronger will inevitably trample on the rights of the weaker. There were no schools at this period. Few of the people had had any opportunity for intellectual culture. Most of the men and women of Wells could not even write their names. What portion of them could read we are unable



to state. Some of the leaders did not think education of any value. John Wadleigh, when asked to subscribe for the aid of the college, replied, as before stated, "it was no ordinance of God and contrary to his judgment." Even those who could write, did not attempt to instruct their families in the art. Joseph Bolles, the town clerk, had enjoyed the benefit of some education, yet he did not think it worth while to teach his children to write. Judge Wheelright married a girl who could not write her name, and he never taught her to do it. Great ignorance prevailed through all classes of society, and thence of necessity, vice, immorality and unyielding selfishness were prominent elements in the character of the people. The blessings of an enlightened civilization can never be too highly appreciated; and the women of this age may learn a valuable lesson from the brief account here given of the relative position of the sex in those days of intellectual darkness.

We all look with horror on the terrible delusion which fastened itself on the public mind some years after, when many of the most worthy men and women were executed for witchcraft. This memorable delusion was the offspring of ignorance. So also it may be said of the superstitions which had so much power over the human mind in the days of which we have been speaking. They checked the activities of the people, filled their hearts with groundless fears, and led them to commit those follies which we can now, with difficulty, be made to believe could ever have emanated even from the lowest civilization. It is to us incredible that any body of legislators in New England could have ever been made to believe that "the women wearing borders of haire," or "their cutting, curling, or immodest laying out of their haire," or "that pride in apparell, vain and new fashions in poor or rich," or "their naked breasts and arms," "pinioned with the addition of superstitious ribbons on haire and apparell," were the cause of those terrible Indian wars which devastated the province of Maine. Neither can we believe that the periwig or the queu of the man so offended the Almighty that he doomed this people, male and female, adults and children, to the awful cruelties which marked the Indian track during thirty or forty years afterwards. We know that selfishness may make a fearful havoc even of the intellect, and that men, by its power, may be wrought up to such a height of folly as to feel that the simple and modest decorations of the sex are an offense in the sight of God,





Avarice is a terrible enemy to every noble and generous thought; but that the vagaries which we have mentioned should have crept into the legislation of our predecessors seems almost incredible.

Some other matters of interest may be considered in this connection. The men who first gathered on the seashore in Wells were without property. It will be safe to say that none of them were worth a thousand dollars. The business of all was to get a livelihood from day to day. As we have just stated, they were not men of education, fitted to think deeply, or to understand how to make everything subservient to pecuniary advancement. In consequence of ignorance, they did not cherish any exalted notions of the possibilities of life, but were satisfied with taking advantage of the means just about them to make up the enjoyment of the moment, without consideration of the consequences which might ensue. They well fulfilled the scriptural injunction not to be "troubled about many things." Their ideas of religion, morality, and social and civil life were of a low order. Most of them, and perhaps we might safely say nearly all, had made the intoxicating cup their companion from early life. They were thence sometimes excited to energetic action, and, as often, languid and indisposed to exertion, contented with whatever might be the condition of their possessions. They had no ambition to make their lives tell upon the world. Even if educated before they left the old home, they had no books for study or entertainment in hours of relaxation. Edmund Littlefield was the richest man among the first settlers, but he had not a book in his house. All the knowledge which the people had was traditionary or experimental, and when they gathered together as neighbors, all that they had to enliven the hour were the thoughts and remembrances which they brought with them, with such as the day's activities might have suggested. In this situation, there was no chance for those distinctions to grow up which manifest themselves in our modern villages. No attempts seem to have been made to instruct their children. There was thence no educated class, and no emulation for excellence in knowledge. Their ideas of the meaning of life were, therefore, exceedingly contracted. Many of the women were indicted for selling liquors without license, for non-attendance on public worship, and for other indulgences which the civil law and the Gospel forbid. There were some frightfully turbulent women among them, who actually enjoyed contention and strife; whose voices were frequent-



ly heard in the wilderness, not in the tone of angels, but in that of low denunciation and ribaldry; but we presume that these exhibitions of human infirmity were not without some corresponding obliquity on the part of the lord of the manor. The head of the household from which these unharmonious vociferations proceeded was probably not the most mild and gentle of men. The legislation of the time, the orders of courts, the recklessness of the husband and the vexations of their condition were enough to explain these sad departures from the peace and simplicity of rural life. The men, it is very likely, felt that the sin was all their own, and therefore submitted to it quietly. This is only surmise. It is possible that this forbearance was Christian. But however this unbecoming spirit in the woman was generated and sustained, or however submitted to, it was deemed necessary for the public peace that the female tongue should be subjected to a little more restraint. In 1665, when its inhabitants were very few indeed, the town of Wells was indicted "for not making a pair of stocks and a couking stool," or ducking stool. We do not know that this ungracious act had its origin in the complaint of any inhabitant of the town; but still these displays of household eloquence were frequent, and the court adjudged that this was the only remedy. The ducking stool was a very simple machine, easily constructed. It was made upon precisely the same principle as the old-fashioned well-sweep. A long pole was suspended at the middle on the top of a post or fulcrum, to the small end of which was hung a smaller pole, holding at the lower end a basket or chair, which was so located that when the chair descended it fell into the water. Into this basket or chair the termagant was fastened, and the master of ceremonies then doused her a sufficient number of times to meet the requirements of the occasion, which were sometimes more and sometimes less. The operation must have been exceedingly refreshing in a cool November morning. We have not found that the machine erected in Wells was ever called into use, neither do we find any judicial decree wherein this punishment was awarded for these unedifying female eruptions; but as the town was called to account for not having one, it must have been under some sense of its necessity. We can only infer that it was erected either *in terrorem*, or for the administration of the husband at his will and pleasure.

We have stated that the courts frequently exercised legislative as





well as judicial power, instituting punishments not prescribed by law. At this period there was no statute authorizing the infliction of the ducking penalty, and this order to erect a ducking stool must have been an expedient adopted by the court from some knowledge of its use in places beyond the waters. But after this, in 1672, when licentiousness had taken such great strides as to threaten the social and moral ruin of the people, and thus the tongues of many, whose physical aberrations had wholly corrupted the soul, were set loose to disturb the peace and good order of the neighborhood, the general court found it necessary to sanction this mode of punishment by making it general throughout its jurisdiction, and accordingly adopted the following statute: "Whereas, there is no express punishment (by any law hitherto established) affixed to the evil practice of sundry persons by exorbitancy of the tongue in rayling and scolding, it is therefore ordered that all such persons, convicted before any court or magistrate that hath proper cognizance of the case for rayling or scolding, shall be gagged or sett in a ducking stool and dipt over head and eares three times, in some convenient place of fresh or salt water, as the court or magistrate shall judge meet." There may have been cases, since that time, of the conviction of women as scolds in this county, but we have discovered none in our examination of the records. We are not aware that it was ever used for the correction of similar infirmities on the part of the other sex. Where this interesting structure was located in Wells, or how long it was maintained, we have labored in vain to ascertain. As the village was near the falls of the Webhannet river, we think it probable that it was not far from the bridge over that stream.

Perhaps it is proper to make a single exception to the statement that this instrument was never used to modify the temperament or correct the errors of men, by the mention of an instance of its use in the latter part of the last century. On the west side of the Tattuck Hills, not far from the road, near the house of Elisha Allen, deceased, many years since there was a den in the ground, known as Mordan's cave. Mordan was an Englishman, and came over to this country in the first part of the last century with his children. The family was further increased by children born in this cave. He bought the land, and here excavated a place of abode, dwelling in it many years. What became of him we know not, neither have we any knowledge of the motives which induced him to seek such a





humble dwelling place. It might have been with him a matter of choice. The notion may have come to him from some scripture history, that to dwell in the dens and caves of the earth would be an acceptable sacrifice to the Infinite. The world is peopled with men of all proclivities. The dwellers round about differed from him as much as he did from them, and perhaps he thought it strange that rational beings should spend so much time and labor on an earthly tenement, which they were to occupy but a little while, and be continually striving for things which brought with them as much care as joy. When he saw so many whose souls were bound up in the acquisition of wealth, never losing their grasp upon it to impart comfort to the needy and distressed, he might very well satisfy himself with his own position.

After Mordan's life in the cave was ended, it was inhabited many years by one Nathaniel Boston. This man had been, and continued to be, a vagabond, having no settled business and making other men's property subsidiary to his support. Pilfering as opportunity presented, afforded his principal means of support; and this he carried on, pretending to be *non compos*, till the people could endure it no longer. They complained of him for his larcenies, and he was brought into court on charges of that character. But he so successfully carried out his feint of imbecility or insanity, that he succeeded in obtaining his discharge. This process was repeated several times, till the people were wearied with the fruitless proceedings. They had no belief of his incompetency. He boasted of his power to hoodwink the court. This led some of the neighborhood to take the law into their own hands. They prepared a ducking stool and determined to make him confess his thefts. They placed him in the tub secured for the proposed operation; but he was unmoved by their threats. They plunged him into the water, not drawing him out at once, as the custom was when this summary process was used, but holding him under water as long as they could safely do so, and then raising him up for a moment's recuperation. The process was repeated; time after time he was plunged, until the operators came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient virtue in the procedure. Yet no confession could be drawn out of him. The martyr spirit baffled all their exertions for that object, and they were obliged to abandon the attempt. But his boasting of his ability to deceive and manage the court at the next trial, which he soon had, settled



his case with the jury, and he became an inmate of the State's prison, from which he never came again to Wells to trouble the inhabitants.

Much of this turbulent spirit, which it was necessary to resort to the court to quiet, had its origin in the common use of intoxicating stimulants. The puritans and pilgrims of Massachusetts, as well as the pioneers of Maine, did not abandon their cups when they left the land of their fathers. They brought with them the strong waters, and were not slack in the use of them. They were, in fact, regarded as a material element of social life.

We were a nation of drunkards till the reformers of the present century took hold of the great work of rescuing the race from the domination of alcohol. Probably nearly all the male inhabitants of Wells, in its early days, were rum-drinkers. The propensity for the intoxicating draught was so strong among them, and led to such indifference to the consequences of its use, that the welfare and peace of the people were constantly jeopardized by it. Though they dwelt among savages, and knew how readily the savage heart was fired by it to deeds of cruelty and death, many of them, notwithstanding all the admonitions of law, did not hesitate to supply them with it for the small profit which might be derived from the sale.

The authorities realized the danger to which the people were thus exposed, and endeavored to obviate it by every possible means. The terrible power which the traffic in ardent spirits had acquired over those engaged in it, the courts were satisfied could only be subdued by the most severe penalties. Alcoholic law was as unchangeable then as now. While every glass drunk increased the impetus of the drinker toward destruction, every sale gave to the seller an increased attachment to his unholy business. Appreciating the frightful influences of this baneful traffic with the ignorant natives, the council and general assembly of the province, holden at Wells on the 19th day of August, 1681, issued the following stringent order: "Whereas, the sin of drunkenness does much increase by reason that several persons do let the Indians have liquors and other strong drinks, which is greatly to the dishonor of God, and hazarding of the lives and estates of his Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding any laws formerly made for the prevention thereof, it is ordered by this Court and the authority of the same, if any person or persons shall presume to sell or give, or let any Indian have any rum, brandy, spirits, or any strong liquors, cider, perry, metheglin, or any kind of strong





drinks, directly or indirectly, they shall forfeit their whole estate, the one half to the informer and the other half to the Treasurer of the Province, and the person or persons to be kept in close prison, without bail or mainprize, for one whole year, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." The next year, 1682, to effect the object of this decree, a further declaration was made by the Assembly, that if any liquors were brought into port, and the owner, master or mariner, should give or sell to an Indian, the vessel should be forfeited.

A state of affairs which rendered necessary such rigorous enactments as these, must have been repulsive to every considerate man who might be seeking a place of habitancy. But no motives which could be addressed to the souls of those who sold or those who drank, no fears of the jeopardy to which they exposed themselves or their families, no care for men, women and children all around, who might become the prey of the tomahawk or be carried into hopeless captivity, no fear of poverty or personal ruin, and no dread of the developments of eternity, were suffered by these men to intervene between them and the desperate end and consequences which awaited their fatal doings. They had become the unresisting slaves of the destroyer, and come weal or come woe, all was the same to them; the sale went on. The white and the red man alike obtained the intoxicating cup. But then, as since, the agents in this work of desolation eluded even the utmost vigilance. Their work was all under cover of darkness, whereby the court in 1685 was compelled to issue the following extraordinary order:

"Whereas, there are reports that many have traded with the Indians, whereby they have been found drunk at every door, and no sufficient evidence found who did it; hereafter at whose door a drunken Indian is found, it shall be taken for granted that those houses nearest adjacent to any Indian lying in such drunken capacity, shall be accounted the very places where the Indians have received their liquors, unless by sufficient evidence they shall be able to clear themselves."

This decree seems very unreasonable and arbitrary. The simple fact that a drunkard fell down near one's house, does not authorize the inference that he there obtained his liquor; but some decisive and summary measure was necessary for the security of the inhabitants. The liabilities of these householders were made such by this order, that they would not only be ready to disclose who the trans-



gressor was, but, if unknown, to use every means to ferret him out. The tomabawk and scalping knife were too terrible to suffer the temperate part of the community to be indifferent to the danger of Indian intoxication; and the people and the courts were justified in adopting measures which, under different circumstances, would not have been allowable. Life here, one would think, was fraught with hardships and exposure enough without the addition of outrages and cruelties created by the settlers themselves. To know what that life was we must have been dwellers with them, and been subjected to all the deprivations, trials, necessities and modes of life to which they were exposed.



## CHAPTER XI.

KING PHILLIP'S WAR—WANTON UPSETTING OF A CANOE—INDIAN BARBARITIES—ORDER OF THE COUNCIL TO LIEUT. WHEELRIGHT—MASSACRE AT PORTSMOUTH AND BERWICK—FAST APPOINTED—INDIAN ATTACK ON WELLS—FOUR HUNDRED INDIANS CAPTURED—DEATH OF JAMES GOOCH AND WIFE—DESTRUCTION OF CAPE NEDDOCK—ATTACK OF MUGG ON GARRISON AT THE "TOWN'S END"—TREATY WITH MUGG—DEATH OF MUGG—TREATY AT CANSO.

PROBABLY the larger portion of the inhabitants of Wells came here solely with the view of seeking material comforts. They located themselves in this wilderness under the conviction that, in this position, they would sooner provide for their family wants than in any other within their reach. They were willing to submit to the hard and exhausting labors of subduing the forest, when they could indulge the hope that a few years of unwearied exertion would bring to them an abundance of the ordinary blessings of life, and that a few additional years would place them beyond any fear of want. Many looked still further, from the facilities incident to their situation, and anticipated the day when their labors would be crowned with a satisfactory independence. This hope had stimulated and sustained them amidst all the privations and discomforts of pioneer life. In the expectation of this speedy deliverance from their burdens, by this promised success, the mothers of Wells went cheerfully about their daily routine of labor, in doors and out, singing now a stanza of Sternhold and Hopkins, and now, or more commonly, some one of the household songs or ditties, learned perhaps in the mother country, being all the literature which they had brought into this life in the wilderness. They were, undoubtedly, as happy as most of those who dwell in palaces and are surrounded with everything which can respond to their physical wants. They dwelt in log-houses, or in some rude structures of boards, with which their mills were beginning to supply them. They could look out and see





with joy the daily openings of the forest, which new comers were making, as harbingers of new associations, cheery sympathies and friendships, while the happy children within gladdened their hearts by the simple, rustic amusements which had been taught them by a mother's love. There was but little that was artificial in daily life; little occasion to sin. Natural depravity was not a necessary element in such a seclusion. They needed no knowledge of civil law. They were a law unto themselves. Each one might cheerfully, contentedly, and earnestly pursue his own business, so that there might be little contention and strife. All might be happy within their own precincts, and rejoice in the brightening prospects before them.

But their numbers increased, and liberty soon ran to excess. When thirty or forty families had gathered here, away from any ruling authority, many began to think they could do as they pleased. Ignorance and licentiousness, when there is no controlling element of a higher civilization, will soon be in close fellowship, and from thence will speedily issue almost every evil work. For many years previously to 1675, there had been among them political, theological, civil, and social dissensions, which could only be healed by some affliction which should absorb the attention of all, and thence bring them to united effort to withstand it. The terrible avalanche of wretchedness which was now to come down upon them was, perhaps, just what was needed to bring them to a proper sense of the relations of life and their obligations to each other. In this year, 1675, the clouds began to gather, and the bright sky was shut out from the vision of those who had here looked forward to a prosperous and happy future. The pall of sorrow was settling down on all their cheering hopes. The wickedness of man was about to bring its deadly influences to the ruin of the peace and progress of the settlement. King Phillip, believing himself wronged in his intercourse with the white man, and ruminating on the cruel kidnappings of his brothers and the English usurpation of his domains, determined to destroy the cruel intruders. Among the tribes, no one could be selected whose exasperation was so much to be feared as his. His intellectual power was far in advance of the generality of the Sachems. He understood the Indian heart, and how to make it responsive to his wishes. He claimed to have free communication with the Great Spirit, and to derive from this intercourse instructions as to his manner of life, and he told the tribe that these white



men were bent on driving them from their possessions, and called upon them, as with the voice of the Great Father, to destroy them from off the land. Nothing more was needed to kindle the flame of revenge in all their hearts, and the awful realities of a savage war began to be experienced in various parts of New England.

The flame was kindled in the colony of Plymouth, and in a very short time extended into Maine. The tribes here had long before experienced some of the barbarities of civilization, and remembering the perfidy and kidnapping of former years, and witnessing the encroachments on their domain, the long enjoyed hunting grounds allotted to them by the Great Spirit, and foreseeing the rapidly hastening hour when they must abandon their fathers' graves to the tread of the invader, they readily united in the resolution that these aggressions should be carried no farther; that the infidels should be driven into the sea. French jesuitry was always at hand to feed the flame of vengeance. A wanton and barbarous act of some sailors on Saco river afforded a pretext for immediate hostilities. It might well be supposed that revenge would follow such iniquity. An Indian woman, the wife of Squando, Sachem of the Sahohis, was paddling along with her infant. These thoughtless men, having heard the absurd story that the infant children of the natives would swim, upset the canoe and the child sank; but the mother, diving down, succeeded in rescuing it, though soon after recovery it died. Nothing more brutal mars the history of any nation or tribe. What else could be expected of these wild children of the wilderness than that they should be excited to retaliate such an unfeeling and cruel barbarism? What wrong can man inflict on his species more savage than this trifling with the dearest relationships of earth? Whether these men received the just reward of their iniquity, no record furnishes an answer. Squando claimed to have communion with the Indian's God, and his inspirations would be to requite such an insult in any possible way; to kill, burn, and destroy the white man and his property, till not a vestige of such civilization should remain.

Arms, ammunition, and all needed instrumentalities were furnished by the French, in Canada, to war on the English, and their souls being inspired by the base and false teachings of their priests, with a phrenzy of resentment for their real and fancied wrongs, not to be appeased except by the most terrible cruelties, the Indians began





their frightful work. As soon as information of the commencement of the war in Massachusetts was received at York, Henry Sayer was despatched from that place to Sagadahock to endeavor to divest the Indians of their arms. This mission was in some measure successful; but it does not appear that any good came from the operation. They began their ravages by murdering men and women at Presumpscot, Saco, and Scarboro. Twenty-seven houses were burnt at the latter place. At Saco, where Squando was familiar with the inhabitants, they burnt all the houses and mills, and killed thirteen of the inhabitants. After this they proceeded to Winter Harbor, where they had a skirmish. Thence they started for Piscataqua, which embraced the settlements on both sides of the river, now Portsmouth and Kittery.

On the 18th of July, Brian Pendleton wrote to Major Waldron at Piscataqua, giving an account of the burning of these houses and mills at Saco, and expressing his apprehension that all would be destroyed. This letter was opened on its passage by Lieut. John Littlefield, and he immediately wrote to Waldron as follows: "Wells y<sup>e</sup> 19th Sept 75 at 9 of the clocke at night. Major Waldron, Sir. You will se by ye above what a great strait y<sup>a</sup> are in at Sacoe, and we look hourerly for an assalt here. Soe that you can't expect any assistance from us, we being too weak to defend our selves, y<sup>f</sup>ore y<sup>e</sup> earnest request to you is that you will rase ann army from Pascataqua with all possible speed for the pr<sup>e</sup>servation of our lives and estats; otherwise we cannot expect in an ordinary way long to hold out. The Lord direct you and us all. We convaid Mr. George Broughton and company safe to the Cape. With out speedy supply you must expect no more posts from us. The enemy snapt twice or thrice at this post coming from Saco, but mist fire as God would have it. Yours to command, John Littlefield."

Histories speak of the garrison houses in various places at this period. The attack had just been made by these Indians, 150 in number, on Major Phillip's garrison in Saco, but no occasion seems to have existed previously to this rupture for their erection. The English and the Indians had dwelt together in the province without any such collisions as to lead to the fear of war between the races.

Probably at this time these garrisons were few. A strong one may have been built in each town by the government. But in the progress of the war some of the ordinary dwelling-houses may have



been protected by palisades. That of Phillips' seems to have been impregnable to the large force brought against it. What garrisons there were in Wells, history does not state. Storer's, we believe, is sometimes spoken of in the relation of the incidents of this war, but we think it was not yet built. Storer was a minor, as we have been led to suppose. His father, William Storer, an inhabitant of Dover, died in 1660. Joseph afterwards came to Wells under the guardianship of Samuel Austin, who had married the widow, his mother. The garrison spoken of in history was at the "town's end." But garrisons, we suppose, were speedily put up. Harding's house was prepared for that purpose.

The news of the barbarities of these savages at Canso, Scarboro, and Saco produced great excitement in Wells. The terror of the inhabitants may well be imagined. Scattered all along, from York to Kennebunk river, how could they hope to escape the fate which had come upon those at the eastward? Their log-houses surely could not shield them. Harding's garrison and those which we have mentioned, may have been sufficient to receive them. Harding's was at the mouth of Kennebunk river, and the people of Arundel may have rushed to that. But life during the continuance of this war must have been grievous indeed and hard to be borne; an existence of constant and withering anxiety. Truly, many escaped to the garrison; and in a multitude there are always some of such a hopeful, cheery temperament as to be able, for a while, to turn off their thoughts from any outward terrors which may hang over them. Blessed be God that there are men of a joyous spirit, not to be subdued by any adversities of life, who, in the midst of darkness the most intense, can always discover beams of light. There were probably some overflowing with wit who, excited by their condition in the general huddle, would occasionally convert the general sadness into momentary merriment, and perhaps, by their fanciful inventions kindle a hope of speedy relief. But at best, the condition of the multitude, men, women and children in such a close fellowship as here was necessary, with the thoughts of the loss of their labor for years, and of the destruction of the long indulged hopes of ease and comfort, and the fears of the terrible issue of the strife weighing upon their souls, must have been wretched in the extreme. Some probably were so overcome by their fears that they were unwilling to assume the burden of protection by taking their arms and going





out to expose themselves to the perils of the hour. Some had fled, and others were preparing to flee to the west. The patriotism of a few and the fears and cowardice of others produced strife and contention, so that the interference of the government became necessary, and the following order was issued:

“At a Council held at Boston the 9th of December, 1675.

“The Court taking into consideration the present state of the town of Wells in respect to the unsettled frame of the inhabitants there in this time of danger; that there might be some remedy for the future and a better management of affairs there, in order to the safety of the place. Ordered that Lieut. John Littlefield do effectually apply himself, that all who are capable of bearing arms in the town, and put them in their best manner for their mutual safety, and must consult with Samuel Wheelright and William Symonds. Said committee is empowered to impress all persons, ammunition, provisions—no one should desert the place on pain of forfeiting his estate.”

The trail or march of the enemy was along by the sea. So also were the settlements. In a few days the savages began their ravages in Wells. But neither history nor tradition has been very faithful in the preservation of the names of the sufferers. In every age there have been women and men who without hesitation would commit to the flames the most valuable materials for history; diaries, letters, and every vestige of the generations which have preceded them. We can only avail ourselves of the few relics upon which the unholy hands of these vandals have not fallen, and hence, our information as to the extent of the devastation which followed is very meagre. We know that several persons were killed and much property destroyed, though it does not seem that so much damage was done at at this time as might reasonably have been expected. The Indians were intent on expending their fury on Portsmouth, Berwick, and other towns, where they massacred a great many of the settlers. Wells and Cape Porpoise, or Arundel, having eighty soldiers, were perhaps in a little better condition to receive the assailants, and the Indians never liked very well to face muskets.

In this terrible posture of affairs the governor appointed a general fast. An appeal to the Ruler of the Universe seemed to be their last resort. If it had been the first, and the people had carried out their prayers in their intercourse with the natives, they would have





exhibited much more wisdom. Had the English invariably acted upon the christian principle of doing to all as they would have all do unto them, this appalling calamity would never have come upon them. It requires a wonderful boldness at the throne of grace, to pray to be saved from the consequences of our own iniquities. What effect this public fasting had on the councils of Infinite Wisdom, has not been clearly unfolded to our vision. The Indians did not at once stay their hands, but as a concluding act of the war of this year, visited Wells soon after and wreaked their vengeance on the inhabitants. Their first attack was made at the house of William Symonds, who lived on the spot where Theodore Clark now lives. Mr. Symonds had taken the proper precaution and moved his family to the garrison. "His servant going early in the morning to look after some business there," says Mather, "tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself. The Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor fellow pay the shot when they had done with the loss of his life." They then reduced the house to ashes. They killed another man about the same time, whose name has not come down to us. The Cross family resided in this neighborhood, and one of them whose mind had lost its balance, and who was wandering from home, was also murdered about a week afterwards. Major Waldron now exerted himself to make peace with them. But though a truce was entered into, before it was accomplished they killed one Isaac Cousins. We suppose that Cousins lived near the saw-mill on Little river. We have no further knowledge of him.

This truce was, of itself, of very little importance to the settlers. The Indians were not in the habit of making sallies on the settlements in the winter season, and this which followed was one of unusual severity. A great quantity of snow was on the ground. This rendered it impossible for them to pursue their ravages. Prisoners were delivered up. The armistice might have resulted in a lasting treaty had it not been for new acts of folly and wickedness on our part. Some had set in motion whispers of new enterprises on the part of the natives, and the fears of the people from the scenes which they had just passed through, prompted them to seize those who had been active in the war. Under authority of precepts for this purpose some were seized near Pemaquid, carried off and sold as slaves in foreign countries; a barbarity on the part of civilized man,



fully a counterpoise for the Indian enormities; and thus the fire was again kindled to sweep over the province. The days of vengeance were renewed, and the poor inhabitants of Wells were driven to the garrisons.

Early in 1676, attacks were made on various places, and the inhabitants killed. Beyond Falmouth for many miles all was laid waste. The government ordered whatever soldiers could be spared into Maine. A portion of these were cowardly men who had fled into Massachusetts the previous year. On their way, at Dover, they were embodied with the troops under Major Waldron. Here, by a successful fraud, Waldron was enabled to seize four hundred Indians. Two hundred of them were sent to Boston. This procedure had the approbation of government. Some of them were condemned and executed; the remainder sent abroad and sold as slaves. This fraud was effected by Waldron, by a proposition to the Indians for a sham fight, in which they were induced to fire "a grand round." Then they were all immediately seized. The retribution for this iniquity was not long delayed. The Indian heart felt deeply any wrong to which they were subjected; and civilized man was thus laying up wrath against the day of wrath. All teachings of that character received by these wild men took deep root in their untutored souls, and, until so reduced in numbers that all resistance to the encroachments of the white man were vain, they continued to bring forth, for nearly a century, their terrible fruits.

Early in August there was a bloody fray at Casco; and attacks were made on other settlements, east; harbingers of the frightful disasters which were to fall on those at the west. Brian Pendleton, of Cape Porpoise, writes to the governor, August 13, after having heard of the tragedy at Casco, "How soon it will be our portion we know not. The Lord in mercy fit us for death, and direct the hearts and hands to act and do what is most needful in such a time of distress as this."

The Indians were now divided into parties, and this made their attacks more effectual. They lurked in the woods in various places, waiting the convenient opportunity for emerging from their coverts, and committing their depredations on life and property, where they were entirely unexpected. A large party had been lurking in the forests, which were then untouched by the axe, between the meeting-house and Little river. The people had not heard of the murder at





Peake's Island the day before; and so imperfect was the communication in any direction, they, perhaps, had no warning of the necessity of special care. They attended public worship on the twenty-fourth of September, though probably carrying their arms with them. The enemy had not the courage to attack them while thus in the house of God. Though the priest had taught them that their enemies were infidels, they still had some reverential sentiment in regard to the house where they assembled to worship the Great Father. They feared to approach it while the priest was ministering at the altar. They had many superstitions which, at times, were highly favorable to the English. But as the people were returning to their homes, Mr. James Gooch and his wife were attacked. He was shot and she was cut to pieces by the hatchet. They were riding in the way of olden time, on horse-back; in that loving fashion, symbolic of the affection and strong union of the age, she on the pillion behind him, with her right arm round his waist. No other persons seem to have been attacked at this time. There were but few of the assailants, and this assault having been successful, they escaped as soon as possible, for there must have been many persons returning home from public worship at the same time. Notwithstanding the prevalence of much iniquity, there were many people in those days who valued their religious privileges.

JAMES GOOCH was the son of John Gooch, who was one of the early settlers in Wells. He came from York, and located himself on a lot of land near Little river, not far above its junction with the Branch river, to which place we suppose James was tending, when murdered. We have before given a sketch of the life and character of the father. James was a man of very respectable standing, and a good citizen. He had been for several years one of the selectmen of the town, and exercised a wholesome influence; and it may have been on this account that the savages selected him as their victim. A ruling principle with the tribes was to kill or carry into captivity men whose loss would be the most deeply felt. The greater the injury they could commit, and the more saddening its effect, the stronger the motive for the crime. Such, we believe, is not very unlike the motive which still rules in christian warfare.

The day after the murder of Gooch, the Indians made a raid on Cape Neddock, and destroyed the whole village. Forty persons



were killed or carried into captivity. A letter from Richard Martin of Sept. 26, 1676, says, "On Sabbath last a man and his wife, namely one Gouge, were shot dead and stripped by the Indians at Wells, at two or three o'clock. Cape Neddock was wholly cut off. Only two men and a woman, with two or three children, escaped." They must have been entirely off their guard. The attack on Gooch could not have reached their ears. This sudden appearance of the enemy at Wells would have rendered it perilous for any one to travel to Cape Neddock to give notice of the danger. The inhabitants at Cape Neddock, it is supposed, were quietly pursuing their business without a thought of peril. In the subsequent wars there were several garrisons there; but probably, at this time, they had none. If they had had even one, the destruction could not have been so universal; though we cannot understand, when they were actually in jeopardy every hour, how rational men could have neglected to provide for themselves some place of refuge, in such terrible exigencies, as they could not but some time expect.

After having finished their work at that place, the Indians returned to Wells, and here killed two persons, George Farrow and another, whose name we have been unable to ascertain. Farrow, we think, has no descendants here. He left a widow and three sisters. But the loss of her husband, and the hard experience following, brought her soon after to the grave. Where, or under what circumstances Farrow was killed, is not known. We only know that he was away from his house, and without company. His murder, and the terrible ravages at Cape Neddock, awakened a sense of danger in the hearts of the people of Wells; and by watchfulness and the necessary precautions, they saved themselves from a similar fate. The enemy returned here soon after; but they killed only one man. Who he was, we are not informed.

The Indians seem to have met with no repulse afterwards in their raids eastward, but were successful in all their movements; entirely destroying Scarborough, and taking captive many in other places. On the eighteenth of October they came again to Wells, with great force, under the command of Mugg. The soldiery was altogether insufficient to meet them in the open field, though it required but a small proportion, as to numbers, to put them to flight. Their only protection now was at the garrison, which was at "the town's end." We are not certain what is meant by this designation, but we have





little doubt that it was near where the house of the late John Rankin stood. The end of the village on the king's road was here. In this place was the garrison of John Wheelright. Where Daniel Eaton lives was another; but whether either of these had then been erected, we are uninformed. From various facts shown by the records, we are satisfied that this locality was called "the town's end." Here Rev. John Wheelright lived in a small one story house, and here also resided his grandson, Col. John Wheelright. But he was yet a minor. (Nicholas Cole was not here at the beginning of the war.) Here Mugg showed himself with his army of savages. They had just taken prisoner at the eastward, one Walter Gendall, whom they sent into the fort to demand a surrender, before they made an onset. But the bold commander was not intimidated, and replied to him, "Never, never shall the gates be opened till every one within is dead." Such a reply was worthy the man and the occasion. He knew what capitulation to them meant. With Indian treachery and barbarity he was not unacquainted. The inmates could not meet with a worse fate by a heroic defence, than by a surrender. The latter would have brought the tomahawk, scalping knife, or captivity upon them; and the former could not, in any event, have done more. Whatever the enemy did in any place must be done quickly. They feared delay, as force could be speedily gathered against them, on information where they had shown themselves. Their threats had no effect. The vigilant commander was awake to his position, and every man felt that his life was involved in the issue of the conflict. Mugg became convinced that there was no hope of success against such determined bravery, and abandoned the attack. They probably did not approach sufficiently near to expose themselves to the fire of the garrison. At some time during the siege they killed Isaac Littlefield, the son of Francis, sen., who was about sixteen years of age. We have no knowledge of the circumstances. They also killed one other man and wounded a third, whose names are unknown, and maimed thirteen cattle, which they left, after taking out their tongues. In regard to Littlefield, they seem to have manifested a different spirit from that which was usual toward those who fell into their hands. They demanded of him to surrender. But he peremptorily declined; and continuing to do so, they shot him. After this they gave liberty to his friends to take his body, offering it no further inhumanity, and attempting no violence to those who





came to take it away. One would suppose that these were of a different tribe from those who had exhibited so much barbarism in former ravages. As a general rule destruction was in all their ways, and any amount of cruelty which they could inflict, seemed never to be spared to their unfortunate victims.

This noble defence of the garrison is worthy of a better record than we now have. It seems strange that such gallantry was not more highly appreciated among our ancestors, so that the names of these brave defenders, and of those who became martyrs for their wives and children, might have been held in remembrance, and handed down to their descendants, to inspire them with reverence for their fearless devotion, and fill their own souls with the same noble patriotism. It may be, indeed, that all nearly endured martyrdom during the war; and hence they could hardly be made to feel that others had a more trying experience, or battled more bravely, than themselves; so that, in their view, there was no pre-eminence of bravery which came with power to their hearts.

In the last of the season of Indian warfare, Nov. 6, 1676, a treaty was entered into with Mugg, at Boston. To assure the commissioners of the honesty of his heart, he offered himself as hostage for the fulfillment of it; but he was not detained. The treaty was disregarded, and the next year the Indians were again at their work of destruction. There was but little left of the settlements eastward. Devastation had there done its work. The destruction of Wells and York were now determined upon. Wells was the special object of vengeance.

In April of the next year they issued from the forests in the neighborhood of York. The village, or the original city of Gorgeana, was situated near the sea on the eastern side of the river. The people had begun to cultivate lands, two or three miles from the settlement. Still there were forests in every direction. The fields were nearly surrounded with a dense growth. From the neighboring woods there was abundant opportunity for reconnoitering; and taking advantage of these hiding-places, when no fear of their presence induced precaution on the part of the planters, the Indians sallied forth, and killed seven men while at work in the fields. Passing by Wells and Berwick, where the people were on their guard, they had thus made sure of their victims. A small number in the hiding-places, which were then so extensive, could do a great deal of



mischief, without much danger to themselves. The inhabitants of York, filled with apprehensions from these murders, felt the necessity of self-protection, and could not come to the aid of neighboring towns; so that by this attack the Indians aided others in their assault on Wells.

Here they commenced operations about the same time. But Wells was now in some measure protected by a regular military force. The fort, which we presume was one of the garrisons, was in charge of Lieut. Swett. For protecting all the inhabitants any force would be insufficient, against their raids made from the woods. Some careless men would expose themselves in their agricultural pursuits, on which they were now just entering for the season. Early in April three persons were killed, and during the month the town and garrison were attacked several times. April 13, Benjamin Storer and John Weld were killed. Benjamin Storer was a neighbor and brother of Lieut. Joseph Storer, and lived on the opposite side of the road. Who Weld was, cannot now be ascertained. We think he was a stranger, as the name was not before or after known in this town.

Though these attacks had been so frequent that no man could reasonably consider himself safe out of the garrison, the people were so accustomed to perils of every description that many of them did not hesitate to go to the marshes, or toward the sea, for gunning or other purposes, as occasion required. The houses being all on the upper side of the road, and the corn-fields on the lower, the whole seaside was open to view, and those on the marshes could extend their vision to a great distance, and feel comfortably sure that no Indians were lurking near them, especially when the river was full. About the same time that Storer and Weld were killed, a man and boy were there in pursuit of game. It was early in the spring, when the birds were returning from the south, and were very abundant. Appetite and pleasure have always exercised a greater influence over the race than fear. Wild geese and ducks, almost within gunshot from their doors, could not be foregone, even though the enemy might be hovering in the neighborhood. The man was making preparations for a shot, and was down on his knees, fixing his flint. The boy, happening to cast his eye around, discovered two or three Indians coming near. The man sprang up in a moment, and aiming his gun directly at them, cried out at the same time, "Ah, you





rogues, I have been looking for you." A word and action so suggestive startled them, and they instantly fled. Wells, even in those days, when they had no schools, had men of quick perceptions and ready wit. The exigencies of the hour rendered it necessary for them to have their eyes open, and their faculties wide awake.

Lieut. Swett at the same time discovered an Indian strolling about, and sent out eleven of his men to search the neighborhood. Venturing a little too far from the garrison, two of them were killed, and one mortally wounded. He immediately sent out a larger force, who killed five or six of the enemy. As soon as they came in sight of the Indians, an Irishman called out, "Here they be—here they are." This frightened them and they all ran. More extensive havoc would have been made among them if the Irishman's tongue had been kept still. The Indians, though childlike as to knowledge, were not destitute of some considerable inventive genius, to carry out their purposes. This sole Indian was led to show himself to lead the men of the garrison into ambush. The ruse was successful. Screened by the woods, they could very easily have made one shot, and escaped from a much larger number. But as it was, though at first favorable, in the end it was an unprofitable enterprise.

Very soon after this, an attack was made on Black Point, where the garrison had been rebuilt, and in this assault, Mugg, the Indian leader, was killed. After this, they took to their canoes, and a part of them came west, again to prey on Wells and York. Here they killed seven persons and carried away two into captivity. After this, it is not known that any more were killed in Wells during the war. They came into the river and cut out some vessels belonging to Salem. No other depredations were committed.

The Indians, having lost their commander, and being tired of the war, assented to terms of peace, which were established by treaty at Canso on the 12th day of April, 1678. All the captives were surrendered, property restored, and the doors of the garrisons opened. But the destruction had been great; houses had been destroyed, farms laid waste, and all around was but a scene of devastation and sorrow. The ravages of war are always terrible to those dwelling in the sphere of its immediate action; but the men of Wells, when the war began, were poor, and nearly all was lost. They had labored hard, partially cleared the forests, reduced some of their lands to cultivation, built temporary houses for shelter, and secured such



an advanced position in their agriculture as to cherish the hope that a life less burdensome than that which they had thus far experienced, was before them. Some had been cut down, leaving their families without homes, destitute and desponding. Nearly all had lost near and dear friends, and the little village must have been gloomy and sad indeed had it not been for the cheering thought that the war was over, and all could now go forth and freely enjoy the smiles of a gracious Providence, which nature everywhere exhibited to their eyes. Restored liberty came to them as an angel of mercy, and by it many souls were awakened to new activities for the regeneration of the town, and soon all came up to the work. The men and the women gave their energies to the restoration of the old waste places, and quiet and industry soon exhibited their benignant effects all along the king's highway, from York to the "town's end."



## CHAPTER XII.

JUDICIARY SYSTEM—VARIOUS INDICTMENTS—GRAND JURORS, THEIR COMPENSATION—THE COURT DRUMMER—COURT AT WELLS—NAMES OF MEMBERS—EXPENSES—INDICTMENTS—PUNISHMENTS—JAMES ADAMS—"THE DEVIL'S INVENTION"—STORY OF THE SIMPSON CHILDREN.

THE judiciary system had much to do in the regulation of the affairs of the province, and in moulding the character of the people. Much may be learned of a nation by its laws and their administration. One who is in the habit of attending court has there a favorable opportunity of acquainting himself with the feelings, habits, intellectual culture, and moral condition of the community. The history of the town cannot be well understood without some knowledge of the judiciary, and the law to which the inhabitants were amenable. A great many men and women are what the law makes them. Remove all the influences of judicial tribunals, and let unrestrained license be the right of every individual, and a state of society would soon exist, which we are inclined to believe would not very well compare with that of even the rude savages, who roamed the woods before our forefathers landed on these shores. We propose, therefore, to give a chapter of the lore drawn from the records of our courts. More especially do we feel the importance of this, from the fact, that in the records of the county of York is contained much of the history of the State which might never otherwise be brought to light. Previously to 1700, the town of Wells constituted a material part of the whole province. At times, all the territory east was laid waste.

In the early periods of the settlement, the principal portion of the officers connected with the government must have been taken from those who had gathered here. The wealthy and the learned, established in the home land, and in the possession of every earthly comfort, had no occasion for adventure, and thence no promptings for a location in this western wilderness. The emigrants to Maine were





of a very different stamp, men without property and without education. They came here almost entirely from pecuniary motives. Without land in England, they sought a home where they could find a spot of earth, by whose annual ministries they might be able to support their wives and children. It was from these men that most of the judges and all the juries were to be taken. That a judiciary system, under these circumstances, would be marked by any great wisdom, no one would have reason to expect.

The first court established in Maine, of which any reliable information survives, had perhaps more judicial stamen than any which followed it in the seventeenth century. Willis says it was an able board. It consisted of Thomas Joscelyn, deputy governor, Richard Vines, Francis Champernoon, Henry Joscelyn, Richard Bonithon, William Hooke, and John Godfrey. These men constituted the council, and also assumed judicial authority. They understood the character of the people with whom they had to deal, and, of course, their adjudications, which had much the shape of legislation, were of a nature which they supposed to be best fitted, as a matter of policy, to promote order among them; but as, at this time, we have no sure knowledge that there were any inhabitants in Wells to be affected by their proceedings, we do not think it pertinent to the design of this work, to give any particular account of their judicial action, excepting to say that, having to deal with a people not very rigid in their morality, they awarded punishments for offences which modern civilization would not judge wise for the purposes of reformation. In most cases, the iniquities of men subjected them to a fine; but women were subjected to a different punishment. One was required, as we have before stated, to make a public confession of her error, and to ask her husband's forgiveness on her knees; and another, to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation two several Sabbath days, and likewise one day at the general court, with the mark of her offence on her forehead. We do not know of any law then which recognized such a punishment as this, and are inclined to think it was an institution of the court. It was probably somewhat effective in leading these wanderers to repentance for a time; but it is questionable whether the loss of self-respect, which must ensue from it, would minister much to a wholesome integrity in time to come; and it is still more questionable whether the mor-



als of a congregation would be much improved by such an exhibition.

The courts after this were differently constituted, and were principally made up of men whose education would not be denominated liberal. Some of the judges were appointed by Gorges; some by Godfrey, as governor; some by the government of Massachusetts, and the remainder were elected by the people. The courts were holden at various places; York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Scarboro. The business of all of them was carried on with the utmost simplicity. It required no great acumen to understand the process of its administration. Every case was adjusted upon the most concise statement of the matter to be inquired into. We believe that in all cases the defendant as well understood the charge against him, and was as fully notified of what he was required to answer, as he is through the prolixity of the allegations which have been required by the courts at a more recent period. Thus, in 1651, the grand jury made the following report:

"We do present Anthony Emery for being outgone with drink so that he could not speak a true word."

"We present Goody Mendum for saying she looked at Mr. Godfrey as a dissembling man."

"We present Goody Mendum for saying Mr. Shapleigh was a base knave, and for looking upon Mrs. Shapleigh to be some peddlar's trull."

"We present John Lane for being a thief and a liar."

"We present Jane Andrews for a makebayte, making contention and abusing Goody Mendum."

"We present Mrs. Bachelor for adultery."

"We present Hugh Gunnison for neglect of enclosing up his Copper or Furnace, after notice given him of the danger, whereby a man fell and was scalded and died the next day ensuing, by means whereof he was buried without a coroner's inquest."

At the court in June, 1653:

"We present Priscilla Johnson, the wife of Mr. Edward Johnson, upon suspicion of adultery with the gunner of Mr. Garrott's ship."

"We present William Bulland for living from his wife about six or seven years."

"We present Robert Hethersaw for lying."





Nothing could be more plain and direct than these charges. The defendant could never be at a loss as to what he was called to answer. A similar explicitness, we believe, would much subserve the purposes of justice at the present day.

In ordinary cases the court seem to have proceeded without the intervention of a jury. In those of an aggravated character, a jury was impanelled. How these juries were obtained before the incorporation of the towns, we have not ascertained. In the year 1647, William Wentworth, Edmund Littlefield, John Sanders and Robert Booth, all of the plantation of Wells, were on the panel.

There were then no court houses; but almost everybody, in a limited sense, kept a house of entertainment, although there were along the coast some which were more prominent, and known as licensed places for the accomodation of strangers. At houses of this description the terms were generally holden. We think there was no court house in York County till after 1700. The expenses of the court which were to be borne by the province, were apparently not very onerous, though, in the poverty of the people, a very small sum required some considerable sacrifice for its payment. The expenses of the first court at Saco were £4.10. Wells, not yet incorporated, was not called to contribute any portion of it.

In 1651, it was ordered that each of the grand jury, while in the service, shall have two meals a day at the expense of the county. We are inclined to think that this order was a wise one, and that a similar regulation at this age would be favorable to justice. Jurors should be sustained at the public expense, and kept by themselves as much as is consistent with a reasonable liberty. The iniquities carried out by their separation as now allowed, very few people have any knowledge of. The other jurors were allowed one shilling for each trial, where the amount in controversy exceeded ten pounds and eight pence, where it was less than that sum. One would suppose that they must have submitted to a lean fare upon such pay as this, when it is likely that they did not have the benefit of more than one case a day, and frequently not even that. Ten years after this, their pay was increased to three shillings a day.

We have stated that they had no court houses. Neither had they any bells to their churches. The court and people were called together by the beat of the drum. The drummer stationed himself at the door of the court room, and at the hour appointed, struck up the



reveille in the most lively fashion, which sent its summons far and wide. The people came together under the inspirations of this music, spirited for duty in their various departments of business. To those not civilly or criminally in the meshes of the law, this roll-beat was an interesting and attractive ceremony. The drummer was an important officer of the court, receiving double the pay allowed to the juror. The drummer at Wells was John Smith, of whom the reader has often heard. He was allowed two shillings a day for his services and was continued in office several years. The court when sitting at Wells was holden at the house of Samuel Austin, standing on the site of the house of the late John Storer, which was taken down a few years since. Austin was then licensed to keep an ordinary, and we presume supplied all the inmates of the house during the sessions with the inspiring draught. In those days, the public houses furnished their guests with the true article. Rum, gin, and brandy were what they were alleged to be. The counterfeits of modern times, the only intoxicating currency which the rumseller offers to his customers, had not then been ushered into the world, for the moral and physical ruin of which they are such effectual agents. The public paid all the bills of the court, including, it is believed, the expense of liquors, then considered material to the discharge of almost any duty. Generally the judges did not compromise their dignity by an overdose of the necessary stimulants, though some of them were presented for being drunk. The expense of the term, with this liberty of indulgence at will, was by no means large. The court sat at Austin's in July, 1670, and continued a week. The Worshipful Thomas Danforth was president, Capt. Richard Waldron and Mr. Elias Stillman, commissioners, and Capt. John Wincoll, Edward Rishworth and Francis Neal, assistants. The whole bill of expense was as follows :

|   |         |            |
|---|---------|------------|
| Magistrates and jurors charges,                       | - - - - | £37 .07 .7 |
| John Barrets expense of Jonathan Pottle the murderer, |         | .16 .0     |
| John Smith the Drummer for 6 days attendance,         | -       | .12 .0     |

In 1680, the court sat at the house of Francis Littlefield. The whole expense of board, and the several incidents for court and jury, was but £8. In 1684, at the house of Joseph Storer, and the expense was but £2 .05. At the court holden at the house of Joseph Hammond in 1675, the treasurer charges the province with six shillings and ten pence, as "money given to the children in the house,"





which was allowed by the court. To us who pay two or three thousand dollars, the average expense of a term, this appears exceedingly low.

Although the courts at this time were not distinguished for uncommon ability, they assumed very uncommon jurisdiction. They seldom dismissed a case on the ground that they had no right to take cognizance of it. If any matter was charged as an offense, and was proved, they seem to have had no scruples in giving it that character, and inflicting what they regarded as an appropriate punishment. In fact, they made both the crime and the punishment *ex post facto*. Thus in 1654, Jane, wife of John Andrews, was fined ten shillings "for making asseverations, as namely, to wish that the earth might open and swallow her up if she had those goods, and afterwards confessed that she had." John Thorp was presented for preaching unsound doctrine, and "for scandalizing John Norton, and saying that he held forth false doctrines in a book set forth by Mr. Norton." In 1668, Rowland Hansell "for living in this County six or seven years he having a wife in England." In 1663, Francis Small was presented for saying, "in speaking of the man who came from Cape Porpoise to Saco, should they be ruled by the rogues which came out of the Rocks of Cape Porpoise." In 1661, John Roadman, "for saying he belonged to the Devil, and if the Devil had his due, he had had him seven years ago." In 1669, John Taylor, James Warren and his wife, Peter Grant and his wife, ——— and his wife, for using profane speeches in their common talk, as in making answer to several questions, their answer is, "the Devil a bit." "James Muchmore for frequenting the company of Joan Batten," and "Joan Batten for frequenting the company of James Muchmore." George Garland was ordered to have thirty-nine lashes "for visiting the widow Hitchcock."

But the following order of the court holden at York in 1667, seems to be a little wider stretch of prerogative than any which we have mentioned: "In answer to the petition and declaration of Mr. Francis Morgan, Capt. Richard Lockwood, Ephraim Lynn and their wives, this court orders that from henceforth there shall be a friendly and perfect union between the said persons; but if by any wilful act or acts, by word or deeds, done directly or indirectly, tending to the making any breach or breaches of this union among the said persons, and if it do appear whether in the men or wimin, any party so of-





fending shall forfeit £20 to our Sovereign Lord the King, being legally proved against any party herein expressed." If the court could enforce decrees of this character, such an authority vested in it would be of immense benefit to any community. But the mode of doing it, or the precept issued for the purpose, would, it seems to us, defy human ability.

In other respects, the courts at this time were very peculiar in their action. They seem to have regarded it as a manifestation of judicial wisdom to inaugurate strange, inappropriate, and unequal punishments for offenses. Their administration in this respect had no example in the old country. The penalties of crime in most cases were the invention of the court. They had little regard for the female sex, and awarded a more severe punishment against a woman than against a man for the same offense. Very little of a refined, educated civilization characterized their doings. Some few of the punishments of an extraordinary character we take from the records of the county. In 1671, Sarah Morgan was convicted of striking her husband, and the court rendered judgment: The delinquent "to stand with a gag in her mouth at Kittery at a public town meeting, and the cause of her offense written and put on her forehead, or pay fifty shillings to the treasurer." In 1651, George Rogers and Mrs. Bacheler, the wife of the minister, had been guilty of adultery. It was ordered that Rogers should receive forty stripes, save one, on the bare skin, and that Mrs. Bacheler should receive forty stripes, save one, and also be branded with the letter A. In 1674, one Richard Gibson, of Kittery, was charged with "dangerous and churtonous carriage toward his commander, Capt. Charles Frost," of which fact the court being satisfied, he was ordered to receive twenty-five stripes on the bare skin, which were administered in the presence of the court; and considering the insolency of the said Gibson's behavior in the premises, it was further ordered that Capt. Frost should be empowered by warrant to call before him said Gibson the next training day at Kittery, and whither he was to order him "to be tied neck and heels together at the head of his company for the time of two hours, or to ride the wooden horse at the head of the company," as Frost might determine. He was also fined twenty shillings "for multiplying oaths;" "ten shillings for being drunk," to pay all costs and give bonds for his good behavior. The offense in this case, we suppose, was one of common occurrence;



where an individual, in a moment of excitement, strikes another, no better than himself, but raised a little above him by the adventitious circumstance that he was an officer.

The state of society, the character of the court, and the peculiarity of judicial action, may be better understood from the mention of a few other cases of criminal jurisdiction.

1650, William James and William Wormwood's wife, were presented for "living suspiciously together."

1663, Robert Jordan "for saying that Mr. John Cotton deceased was a liar and died with a lie in his mouth, and that he was gone to hell with a pack of lies."

1655, Robert Hethersaw "for attempting the wife of Samuel Austin to incontinency, both by words and actions."

1668, William Ellingham "for using some uncivil speeches, as wishing the Devil rot them."

1669, Edward Weymouth "for cursing and swearing and wicked wishes to his wife."

1670, Thomas Nubery "for his light and uncivil carriages about the wimmin."

1670, Thomas Taylor "for abusing Capt. Francis Raynes in authority, by theeing and thouing him, and many other abusive speeches."

1672, Thomas Withers "for an irregular way of contribution, by putting in money to lead others to do the like, and taking his own money, if not more, out again, whereby there lyes some suspicion of fraud."

1682, William Furbish "for abuse of his Majestie's authority, by his opprobrious language, in calling his officers Devils and Hell-hounds."

It will be seen from these few cases which we have selected from the multitude of a similar nature, with which the records are filled, that every man had to be exceedingly cautious in his speech. Such was the state of society produced by these absurd judicial proceedings, that some were always ready to seize upon every injudicious and hasty word which might be uttered, to bring the author before the court for his misdemeanor, so that scarcely a single individual in the town or province escaped prosecution of some kind. Fifteen persons were indicted at one term for not attending public worship, and





twelve for being drunk. Drunkenness was a matter of criminal action at every term. Offenses unknown at this day were constant matters of adjudication; so that the community was kept in a state of bitter excitement, very prejudicial to the peace, prosperity and growth of the town.

In this early period of the settlement of Maine, a case scarcely paralleled in the history of crime, occurred just within the borders of York. Although it is not an incident in the history of Wells, yet as the scene of the transaction was so near, and the inhabitants of these towns were so intimately associated in their labors and trials at this period, that events occurring in either were alike interesting to both; and as it shows to what a depth of depravity humanity may be reduced, we shall conclude this chapter with such an account of it as we have been able to obtain.

At the court holden at York in 1679, James Adams was found guilty of the offense of which the following, we believe, is a true history in the main. If any crime which one can commit should bring him to the scaffold, it was that of which this man was found guilty. He was a man of bad temper and of a malicious and revengeful spirit, and was regarded as a great liar. We know not what trouble existed between him and his neighbor, Henry Simpson; but we may well suppose that the latter had no respect for him. He had been convicted "of forging many lies," and was thence regarded by the people as a worthless man. Simpson may have been the complainant against him for his reckless disregard of the truth. From whatever cause, he now cherished a bitter enmity against him; and harboring this enmity, it awakened within him a spirit of revenge, not to be appeased but by bringing upon him some terrible affliction. Simpson had two small boys whom he tenderly loved, about seven and nine years of age; and this fiend in human shape determined to make these children the medium through which he could gratify his infernal malice. He went into the woods some two or three miles from the village, and selected his site for the sacrifice, as he had determined to cause them to perish by starvation. There are several places in York where there are perpendicular ledges, so smooth that no one could ascend them. Against one of these he built up a pen, into which these children were to be cast. He cut down his logs of suitable lengths and erected his work. It was so constructed, the wooden wall inclining inward, that by no pos-



sibility could the children climb over it. The plan was one of deliberation, and he must have bestowed a good deal of labor upon it, to be sure of the result at which he aimed. It was not a momentary impulse growing out of sudden excitement; but he calmly completed his work, and returned home to await an opportunity of seizing his innocent victims. From that day to the present, this place has been known as the "Devil's Invention."

Soon the fit occasion for accomplishing his malignant purpose presented itself. The children were out of doors, engaged in their childish sports, and by some means he was enabled to draw them from their home. He told them he was going to the woods, where the little birds were flying thickly, and where they should find a great many birds' nests. The children were captivated by the prospect of such an adventure, and went on with him, their whole thoughts absorbed in the various novel sights which were every moment meeting the eye. How long time the journey to their prison-house occupied we have no tradition; but he reached the goal of his hellish designs with the children, and there, far away from human habitation, where the cries of distress could reach no ear, notwithstanding the shrieks of his little companions, he cast them into the den to abide the agonies of starvation. His cruel and savage heart relented not at the terrible wailings of his innocent victims; but he hastened home, wearing the countenance of innocence, as though he had been merely about the ordinary employments of life.

The household of Simpson were alarmed. The two little boys had disappeared. No one had seen them. The Indian war had closed, and thence there was no thought of their capture by the savages. Diligent search was made by the parents, but no trace of them was discoverable. Soon the whole town was aroused to the search, and for three days the people, with intense interest, were searching for the missing ones. All their earnestness and untiring labor were fruitless, and this servant of the evil one began to indulge in the malignant and infernal hope that his work had been successful; but Providence did not permit his machinations to succeed. The oldest boy was inspired as to the means of escape. With nothing but their hands they went to the work of digging under the logs which enclosed them, and with a perseverance equal to that of the brave men who dug out from the Libby prison, they succeeded in so removing the earth as to open a passage way out, and





thus escaped from their terrible imprisonment. In the dense woods, yet untracked, with no path to guide their footsteps, they knew not which way to turn to reach their father's home; but the voice of the great waters, the roar of the ocean, came to their little hearts with cheering tones, telling them the way to the village. Guided by the sound, wearied and almost famished, they finally reached the habitation of man, and were restored to their parents. If history affords evidence of a crime of deeper dye than this, we have not yet met with it, and yet this wicked and infamous man received only the punishment thus pronounced by the court.

"James Adams: the court have considered your inhuman and barbarous offense against the life of the children before the court, and great disturbance to the country, and do sentence you to have thirty stripes, well laid on; to pay to the father of the children, Henry Simpson, five pounds in money; to the treasurer of the county ten pounds, and to remain close prisoner during the court's pleasure." The thirty stripes were given by John Smith, the executioner.

Any punishment which human ingenuity could have devised would not have exceeded the merits of this barbarity. Thirty stripes, a fine of fifteen pounds, and imprisonment during the pleasure of the court, from which he might at any moment escape, or from which the court might at any moment release him, was no punishment for his iniquity. For very small offenses, in that age, men were brought to the gallows, and this man should have been ordered to his home in the earth, on which he was unworthy to walk. The minister's wife, for an offense dictated by no malice, but growing out of a frailty of the race, was to receive forty stripes and to be branded on the forehead with the mark of the crime, from which the court could not relieve her, and with this stigma upon her go down to the grave, while this fiend was to receive thirty stripes only, and possibly very soon be allowed to enjoy his former liberty, again, perhaps, to prey on the peace of this or of some other family.

This brief account of the administration of justice in this county, we think, will satisfy our readers that it was to the judiciary system, adopted for the government of the province, that the low state of morals during the seventeenth century was to be ascribed. The influence of the laws on a people and of the people on the laws, is reciprocal. When law and its administration have no basis in a sound





philosophy, the effect on social order and progress is pernicious; and where the people are ignorant and vicious, the legislation and judicial action under it will partake of the character of its authors or the people. During the period of which we have been speaking, legislation was intensified. We know no better term than this to express the character of the prevailing jurisprudence. Laws were passed to meet every particular case, and where legislation failed to do this, the court made the law for the occasion. What a man should wear, eat or drink, buy or sell, believe or think, say or not say, do or not do, were questions to be answered by legal enactment. As we have said, these early settlers were generally men of no education. The character of the judiciary, in this respect, was not much above that of the commonalty, and thus all the proceedings in court were characterized by a puerility incompatible with the cultivation or growth of any vigorous manhood among the people.



## CHAPTER XIII.

REV. ROBERT PAINE—JOHN BUSS—REV. PERCIVAL GREEN—REV. RICHARD MARTIN—REV. GEORGE BARROWS—HIS TRIAL FOR WITCHCRAFT—WILLIAM SEVERN.

IMMEDIATELY after Mr. Hubbard left, Robert Paine was engaged as the minister. There does not appear to have been any formal proceedings in dismissing the former or settling the latter. We presume there had been no re-organization of the church. Towns were, by law, required to maintain the preaching of the gospel; but no law could require the maintainance of a church. The power of legislation was inadequate for that, and no evidence survives showing the existence of any such institution until the commencement of the next century. The congregation was the town. No sectarianism was allowed. We mean such as produced schism, and division into societies of discordant doctrines. The employment of a minister was one of the mere ordinary matters of town action.

Paine was an educated man, graduating at Cambridge in 1656, and was settled for five years from Sept. 2, 1667. He was a very different man from Hubbard. In his ministerial contract he made no reservation of rights or privileges. He claimed only such material compensation as was essential to the support of himself and family. The town agreed to pay him £45 a year, to finish the house and outhouses on the ministerial land, and put the fences in order. All repairs afterward were to be made by himself, and at the close of his connection he was to leave the whole in as good order as when he took possession. Eleven years had expired since he left college, and having had opportunity to acquire some knowledge of the world, he had come to the conclusion that it was best not to be exacting; but he must have been an unpretending disciple to have accepted terms of this character. He certainly could not have magnified himself, neither could worldly riches have been his ruling impulse. We judge him to have been a man of a meek and quiet





spirit, and that none of his hearers would be likely to be disturbed by his official ministrations. As have all other ministers at Wells, he probably labored in the field with his own hands, to supply the wants of his household. In 1670, "Goodman Hammons was chosen for the ordering and causing of an oughthouse to be built on the the town lot for the use of Mr. Paine and them that shall succeed him, and how much every man of the town shall do for his appor-tion and part." This seems to have been all that was done for him during his pastorate, and perhaps this was in part fulfillment of the contract with him, as before stated. For aught that appears, his ministry was a peaceful one; but a peaceful ministry is not always the most profitable. It does not indicate a living, active piety. Iniquity needs heavy blows for its correction. The blood of both Christian and sinner must be excited to work out a substantial, firm religion.

Mr. Paine continued here until his contract expired in 1672. Where he labored afterwards is unknown. Subsequently he was invited to settle at Saco; but for some reason, not stated, he declined the invitation.

JOHN BUSS succeeded him. He came here in 1672, being then about thirty-two years of age. We are not sure that he assumed the title of reverend. He was an educated physician, and continued the practice as such during his life. But he considered the spiritual health of the people as necessary as the physical; and therefore took a deep interest in prescribing for both. There is no doubt, as a general principle, that a healthy soul will do much to promote a sound bodily health; and sometimes the latter will materially aid the former. These two professions were much more frequently united in that age than at the present. Physicians, now, are not often found preaching the gospel, though some of them afford noble examples of Christian fidelity and worthy discipleship. There is no class in community who would do more good, if endued with the spirit of the Master, than those of this profession. Called as they are to the sick chamber, and so frequently when its inmate has but feeble hope of restoration, they would be welcomed as angels of mercy, exciting again, perhaps, the hope of renewed earthly life, and awakening such cheering spiritual emotions as would come to the aid of the debilitated body, and so excite its powers as to enable it



to overcome the strength of the disease which was hastening it to dissolution. There is nothing like a courageous, hopeful spirit, to ward off the assaults of the great destroyer. The soul, determined to dwell still longer in the earthly tabernacle, has not unfrequently performed miracles of this character. Every physician ought to be a Christian. The man who thoroughly understands the wonderful machinery of the human system, and does not lift up his thoughts and heart to the Infinite Architect from whose wisdom it emanated, with reverence, trust, and love, must be dead to all those holy emotions, which can render him worthy to be called a child of God.

Mr. Buss was evidently more acceptable to the people of Wells than any of the previous incumbents of the pulpit. His general acceptance among them may well be presumed to have had its basis, in the double capacity in which he spent his time among them. By that instrumentality he became familiar with all, and learned their various temperaments, and the appropriate ministries for their improvement. We have seen none of his sermons, and cannot judge of his power as a preacher.

As there was no other physician in Wells, he must, in his medical profession, have reaped a reasonable pecuniary income. He received a much larger salary than was allowed Mr. Paine for his ministerial services. He was to have £60 annually,—and there was added to this a contribution of thirty-one of the people, promising him forty-two days' work of men, and as many more with oxen. The owners of the saw-mill at Kennebunk, living six miles from the meeting-house, gave him three hundred feet of boards. Another agreed to shoe his horse for two years, and others promised to give extra aid in various ways. These facts, when it is considered how hard it was then to make provision for one's own family, show that Mr. Buss had strongly attached himself to the people. How successful he was in building up the christian character among them cannot now be ascertained. The people had improved in some measure since the days of Mr. Fletcher. Nearly all the inhabitants came forward and offered additional aid to that which they would be required to give in the way of taxation. Enjoying thus their hearty support, he had continued with them five or six years, when the peace and harmony of the congregation began to be ruffled by the breath of slander.

Notwithstanding the happy relations of most of the people with





Mr. Buss, there were some among the inhabitants over whom the evil one had unshaken dominion. Men and women, blessed with the power of speech for the most noble of all purposes, yielded its control to the enemy of all righteousness. Buss was not only highly valued in Wells, but also in the neighboring towns. But the state of society was such, though improved by his intercourse and public ministry, that the best of men could not escape the malicious and reproachful reports of the ignorant and unprincipled. This good man was not permitted to escape the foulest slander. He was severely tried by the circulation of reports which came to his ears, and feeling that he could no longer abide with the people, he determined to abandon his post. But the public around had an interest in his continued ministry; and at the court holden at York, July 3, 1677, Major "Richard Waldron, and the Rev. Mr. Joshua Moody, and Mr. Shubuel Dummer, were entreated and empowered, as a committee, to repair to Wells, and enquire the reasons of Mr. Buss' intended departure, and to use their best endeavors to take away such obstacles as do discourage his abiding among them; whereof they were desired to make their return to next court." This return is not found on the files. But they so far succeeded in quelling the commotion in the town, and encouraging Mr. Buss, that he concluded not to dissolve his connection immediately. In a few years, however, the excitement was revived by new scandal, to which even some men of influence had given currency. Mrs. Abigail Eldridge, wife of John, and a daughter of Francis Littlefield, had originated certain stories involving his character, and tending very much to bring him into disrepute. There was no foundation whatever for the defamation. Eldridge, the husband, was very indifferent to public worship; his wife was probably of similar inclinations; and like some of the present day, who have no reverence for the sanctuary, and no interest in the ministrations of the gospel, they were reckless in their insinuations against the virtue and integrity of those whose lives and examples did not accord with their own. For this groundless slander she was presented by the grand jury, and found guilty of defaming Mr. Buss; and as a punishment for her offense, was required to make a public acknowledgment of the falsity of the charge at three public meetings on the Lord's day, at Wells, York, and Berwick, at such times as the authority in those places should designate, or otherwise to receive ten stripes on the





bare skin, and her husband to pay all costs. Either of these punishments, for a woman of any delicacy, must have been crushing to the soul.

Defamatory reports coming from such sources as this would probably have been unnoticed by Mr. Buss, had not others of a higher standing given currency to them. Francis Littlefield and wife, from some unexplained reason, had aided in fanning the flame, and by such "presumptions" had involved the parish in discord and confusion. Littlefield was undoubtedly deceived by Mrs. Eldridge. He was brought to the bar, adjudged guilty, and fined for the agency which he had had in this unfortunate excitement. Mr. Buss ought not to have permitted such unfounded reproaches to weigh heavily upon his mind. The Christian should stand up like a man and not be driven from his post by the breath of slander, or by any of the machinations of the powers of darkness. But the sensitive mind of Mr. Buss could not endure even the suspicion of infidelity to his moral obligations, and he came to the conclusion not to continue any longer the minister of the town.

In 1682, he left Wells and went to Durham, N. H., where he preached for the space of thirty-three years, making a long pastorate, when ministers were not settled for life as they were in an after age. He also continued the practice of medicine. He had accumulated a valuable library. His house was burned by the Indians in 1694, and his library consumed. He died in 1736 at the age of ninety-five, and not one hundred and eight, as stated by Belknap and others.

The next minister was PERCIVAL GREEN, who was engaged in 1683. He was an educated man, graduating at Harvard University in 1680. His character as a preacher is unknown. As this was his introduction to ministerial life, and his value as an apostle of Christ had not been tested, the town was not very liberal in the arrangement as to his compensation. They agreed to pay him annually £50 in lumber and provisions, and allow him the use of the parsonage. It is said, upon what authority we do not know, that he kept school. As subsequent ministers were engaged in that work, he may have been thus employed, and it was thence concluded that it was not necessary that his salary should be equal to that of preceding ministers. Besides, since the ravages of the Indian war the town was very poor. He continued here until 1689, when the second war had commenced. He



may not have had the courage to abide the trials and issue of that terrible conflict. If he had had the true faith of the Christian, its anticipated terrors would not have driven him from the field of his labors. The soldier of the cross should have the martyr spirit, ready for any duty demanded by the relations of life. The sustaining power of the gospel was never more needed by the people than during the sufferings and afflictions of this long war. His physical services were also needed for the defense of the town against the incursions and ravages of the savage enemy. His fears may not have induced his removal, but his departure at this time it must be admitted, is very suggestive.

After Mr. Green relinquished the pastorate, Rev. RICHARD MARTIN was engaged for the service. The terms of his agreement were substantially the same as those with Mr. Green. He was to be paid £50 in the produce of the town, according to the following prices: Pork at two and a half cents a pound, wheat at four shillings a bushel, rye at two shillings and sixpence, peas at four shillings, boards at nineteen dollars, and staves at seventeen dollars a thousand. He was also to have the use of the parsonage. Money was not easily acquired at that time, and in all the new towns away from the commercial emporium, it would have been through great difficulty that a contract could have been fulfilled, whose provisions required cash payments. This state of the currency, or deficiency in currency, was not unfavorable to the permanent interests of the people. It kept the inhabitants from extravagance. The propensity for showy and costly dresses was checked. Young ladies were obliged to adorn themselves with their own handiwork, thereby acquiring habits of industry and economy. The minister's family could dress as well as any of the people, and no better. There was necessarily much uniformity in the apparel of all the households, there being no chance for the gratification of that pride which now so often exhibits itself in the display of extravagant finery. Men and women were decorated according to their personal skill and taste. Domestic manufactures supplied all their clothing. The means of education were very limited, and those even the most anxious for knowledge were obliged to graduate from the spelling-book. There was, from this fact, no reason why the people should not be united in their religious views; neither was there any occasion for uncommon ability in the pulpit.





The wide distinctions now having their root in intellectual culture and pecuniary possessions have grown out of the advances of a later age.

It would be exceedingly interesting to have the opportunity now of entering a house of worship filled with the men and women of the seventeenth century, the sanctuary being then the resort of all on the Lord's day. The law was rigidly enforced on such as neglected the assembling of themselves together. What more interesting spectacle than this whole body of men and women, with a Quaker uniformity, dressed in the plain homespun broadcloth, gingham, and other domestic manufactures of that period. The true philanthropist might almost wish the world brought back to such primitive simplicity.

It is said by some writers that Mr. Martin continued here during the whole war, but this is plainly an error. A considerable portion of the time the people were without a minister; at other times they had the services of Mr. Burroughs. But the terrors of Indian ferocity began to be felt at its commencement. To the great sorrow of the christian heart, the sanctuary where the people had been accustomed to gather together, was committed to the flames. These savages were inspired by the French Jesuits with the deepest hatred of the English religion, and with the belief that the white men had come here to drive them from their lands; and, as a consequence, their houses of worship were now a very acceptable sacrifice to their revenge. The meeting-house was burnt in 1692. From this period the people had no fixed place for public meetings on the Sabbath. The hazards of traveling also would have precluded any attendance, excepting within the garrisons. We do not see how the people could have fulfilled their engagements with the minister. The labors in the field and at the mills must have been so much restricted by the continual apprehension of Indian raids, and their fields so often laid waste that their products could scarcely have furnished adequate supplies for their families. Still, we know that they lived through their deprivations. No instance is on record of starvation from a want of the necessaries of life. Young and old were inured to extremities. The appetite of the race had not been pampered, and the excitements of their condition would effectually quell any troublesome cravings from that quarter.

At what time Mr. Martin relinquished the ministry does not ap-



pear. Twenty years after this he was engaged in keeping the town school. Notwithstanding the manuscript declarations of intelligent men deceased, I may also add that it is uncertain when he began his ministry. The records would indicate that he commenced several years before the time stated. If so, Mr. Green's pastorate was of very short continuance.

After Mr. Martin closed his labors, we think there could have been, for some years, no regularly established public worship; certainly there could have been no opportunity of assembling together. Universal distress prevailed. At no period in the history of the town were the inhabitants driven to such straits for the preservation of life. The enemy had destroyed every village east of Wells; many of the people had fled from the Province. The corn was exhausted, and cattle and horses were killed or driven off by the Indians. The garrisons were crowded with refugees; not from the town only, but from the ruined villages. From the time of the commencement of this war—1688—the thoughts of all were so directed to the preservation of their families, that but little attention could have been given to the general moral improvement. There was no minister for the altar; but the people being established in the garrisons, and encouraged in some degree by military aid from Massachusetts, began to feel the need of the Sabbath ministrations.

Among those who had been driven from their homes in the eastern part of the province was Rev. GEORGE BURROUGHS, who came to Wells early in the war. Martin was here when the contest began; but what became of him during the struggle is not known. Burroughs was probably more fearless. Being a strong man and accustomed to victory in any attempts made upon things animate or inanimate, he had acquired a self-confidence and courage which fitted him for any emergency. He was the man needed for the hour. He was in Wells as early as 1688. Martin may have thus regarded the ministerial office as provided for, and surrendered its duties to him; and perhaps the people may have suggested a preference for Burroughs.

It has been very difficult to follow this man so as to determine with any certainty the times and places of his residence. He seems to have preached the gospel several years in Falmouth, now Portland; also in Salem; perhaps in Scarborough. Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts, says, "He had been a preacher several





years before his trial at Salem; afterwards he became a preacher at Wells, in the province of Maine." He makes no allusion to Falmouth, although he is called of that place in the indictment against him for witchcraft; and we know that that town had been the principal field of his ministry; but we know also that he was here in 1688, and from that time took much interest in the preservation of the town, having written and subscribed petitions to be forwarded to the governor and council for aid.

We have no account of his ministerial faculties, or of the effect of his preaching on the people. His qualifications for the fight of faith, we have no doubt, waked up and nerved his energies to fight the savages; but the muscular power for which he was distinguished, was seized upon by the deluded people of the age to bring his usefulness to a speedy end. He was a man of small physical stature; and his sad fate in some degree had its origin in that fact. He was living in Wells when that terrible delusion, which had seized on the public mind, brought to the scaffold for witchcraft many of the most worthy and valuable inhabitants of New England. Although Burroughs was not minister of the town many years, yet he had so identified himself with its welfare, in the day of its peril, it cannot but be interesting, and not out of place, to present a concise account of the proceedings which terminated his life. Our knowledge of them is, in part, from the record, and in part traditionary. How far the latter is based on fact we have not the means of determining. Some of it we believe to be reliable.

He was in Wells at the time of his arrest. If so, and any of the offenses charged were committed here, it would seem that he should have been tried in York County. But the law, and I may safely say the facts, were manufactured for the occasion. As we understand the doctrine of the court, the offense might be regarded as committed in Salem, because the spectre of the witch was there, and also the person injured, or in other words the witchcraft was carried out in Salem, though the witch might have been far from that place. We are not informed who made the complaint against Burroughs. While he preached in Salem some considerable feeling existed against him on the part of his congregation, arising from differences of religious opinion, and perhaps from his alleged unchristian deportment toward his wives, he having been twice married. As he had now been absent two or three years in Wells, it is probable that the





prosecution was instigated by some angry feelings growing out of those circumstances. He had some strong friends. One of them said, "I believe he is a choice child of God." When Burroughs was arrested, we have not learned. But he was at the house of one Beadle, in Salem, Aug. 5, 1692. We suppose that he was taken on the warrant previously to this.

The tradition is, that the officer came to Wells with his aids, and arrested him, to be carried to Salem. He readily yielded himself into their hands, feeling assured of his innocence, and that no such thing as witchcraft cleaved to him. A savage war was then prevailing, and the most frightful cruelties were visited upon the people. The fears of these men were excited to a high degree by the appalling dangers which beset their journey; and instead of taking the road which led through York, and over the ferry at the mouth of the Piscataqua, they concluded to take a more retired path through the woods, and across the river at Quampegan. Other thoughts, which added to these fears, came over them. They were believers in witchcraft, and were now the close companions of one who was in league with the devil, who might, at any moment, exercise his power upon them. They had listened with wonder to the evidence which had been eliminated in other trials, of the irresistible power which had been exercised over others, by some magic agency or spell of these dangerous spirits. They had probably heard of the story of Mary Osgood, as afterwards related in court, who stated that in 1690 she was carried through the air with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife, and Goody Tyler, to a pond, where she was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptism, and told her she must be his, soul and body forever; and after renouncing her former baptism, that she was transported back again through the air, and she believed, on a pole. These strange events and wonderful disclosures which were being made every day in court, so crowded in upon their minds that they shuddered at every moment. Finally, when entering the woods, they became so wrought up that nothing was beyond the reach of their imaginations. It was now growing dark, and very soon a black cloud shut out the sky, so that almost total darkness prevailed. A frightful storm began to rage. But still the horses and their riders must wend their way through the forests. The thunders of heaven came down with stunning peals, "and a crash more terrible than any



they had heard seemed now to rend earth and sky. A lofty pine was shivered above their heads, and its fragments thrown over them. For some minutes they were utterly blinded. And now they felt their horses borne along with the rapidity of the wind. The spell of the wizard had indeed called the fiends to his aid, who were now bearing them onward in their arms. Yet, strange as it may seem, their horses never broke into a gallop, and the motion beneath them was that of the same uniform trot in which they had been before moving. Yet on, on they went. They seemed coursing with the lightning." They felt that horse and rider were lifted from the ground and were trotting through the air. Their affrighted spirits shrank at the awful scene. But their horses carried them through, and they reached the Piscataqua river in safety. Their prisoner was calm through all this commotion of the elements, having the assurance that he had been guilty of no wrong, while the trembling officer and his comrades who had him in charge were wilted down by the terrible experience of that dismal night. They felt that they had been under the power of the spirit of evil. This place has been made memorable by this adventure, and from that day has been called Witchtrott.

The officer with his prisoner reached Salem in safety, and Burroughs was soon after brought before the court for trial, under the following indictment:

*"Anno Regis et Reginae, &c., quarto.*

Essex, ss. The Jurors of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, present, that George Burroughs, late of Falmouth, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Clerk, the ninth day of May in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c., and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable acts, called witchcraft and sorceries, wickedly and feloniously hath used, practised, and exercised at and within the town of Salem in the County of Essex aforesaid, in, upon, and against Mary Walcott, of Salem village, in the County of Essex, singlewoman; by which said wicked acts, the said Mary Walcott, the ninth day of May in the fourth year aforesaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and





tormented, against the peace of our Sovreign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the force of the statute in that case made and provided." There were also three other indictments against him of similar character.

To all the charges he pleaded not guilty. A part of the evidence adduced against him was, that he held out a gun of seven feet barrel with one hand, and that he carried a barrel of cider from a canoe to the shore. To this, Burroughs replied that there was an Indian present at the time, who held out the gun in the same manner. The witnesses not remembering that there was an Indian present, it was said the Indian must have been the blackman, or the devil, who, the witnesses swore, looked like an Indian.

It was upon testimony of this character and the evidence of the girl, Margaret Jacobs, and others (which she shortly after, by her written confession, acknowledged to be false), that this minister was found guilty, and with four other persons, was executed on the 19th of August, 1692. It is said that just before his execution he offered a most remarkable prayer, and that Cotton Mather, one of the most learned men in Massachusetts, and sympathizing with these judicial murders, being present, cried out, or said to the bystanders, that no man could have made such a prayer as that unless the devil helped him. One can hardly persuade himself that such a scene as this ever occurred in New England. Burroughs was a valuable, patriotic man, laboring hard at this time in the town of Wells to save the lives of the people from the power of the savages. All the aid which, by any possibility, could be had, was necessary to check their frightful ravages. All the towns east had been destroyed, and the people had fled to some place of refuge at the west. Wells was now the frontier, exposed to all the force which the Indians and French could muster against it, and yet at this very period, when the sufferings of the people were almost beyond endurance, the court must step in, carry away this worthy man; and, at the same time, the ministers of the gospel in Massachusetts recommend to the government "speedy and vigorous prosecutions of this character," though they had already seen specimens of the evidence by which these judicial murders were being effected. If it was the ignorance of the day which led to this wicked delusion, if delusion it can be called, that thus ruthlessly sacrificed the lives of so many at its unholy shrine, then it was an ignorance carrying with it most awful



guilt; but we are unable to bring to our aid charity enough to look upon these transactions as emanations of ignorance. We feel ourselves under no obligation to search out any apology for them. If Burroughs preached doctrines not acceptable to the prevailing ministry, and this non-acceptance kindled in the souls of these persecutors a spirit of opposition, indulged until it generated a reckless revenge, then all subsequent generations should learn from this fact the perilous nature of bigotry and intolerance; and if ignorance was the mother of this awful delusion, then every one should feel, and feel deeply, the infinite need of intellectual culture. But whatever may have been the cause or basis of this disgraceful spectacle, the cause of righteousness and true religion can never derive strength from a reference to these men as examples to guide the lives of the generations which may succeed them. We might as well refer to the runseller's character and life, who regards his business as lawful and just, for our instruction, because in other respects he is beyond reproach, as to place the agents of these iniquities before our communities as examples of a true christian manhood.

After the abduction of Burroughs from the garrison, there were not, we suppose, any public religious services until the close of the war then raging. No preaching of the gospel was allowed except by a Congregational minister. The rule of the hierarchy was still more severe than this. All persons were prohibited from building, or even using, any meeting house except by consent of the town or license from the general court. It was said as an apology for this enactment that the building of such houses had a tendency to perpetuate divisions, "and weaken such places in the comfortable support of the ministry orderly settled among them." Every house thus erected without consent was forfeited to the county, and the treasurer might sell or demolish it, according to the judgment of the court. This law was well devised to guard against any effectual departure from the established faith. No new-fangled doctrine could thus gain a foothold in town.

Order was considered indispensable to the stability of the government and the prosperity of the people. Congregationalism was the established religion, and its integrity must be preserved. No interference with its free action could be allowed. A new religion was now started—we mean new only in this province. In 1681, William Screven, an intellectual and eloquent man, began to preach in Kit-





tery the doctrines of the Baptist denomination. His ministrations were very effectual, and brought many to imbibe his sentiments; but he was at once summoned into court, found guilty of disturbing the peace, fined ten pounds, and admonished not again to repeat the offense. His hearers, also, were required to refrain from again attending any such disorderly meeting. Yet the people were exceedingly anxious for the stated ministry of the Word. Among christian men the feeling was strong that public religious worship was indispensable on the Sabbath. They could hope for no prosperity without it. They had been taught, and the position had fast hold of their hearts, as recommended by the Legislature in 1670, that the best means of increasing freemen in Maine was, "that each destitute parish obtain an able, pious, and orthodox minister;" and these friends of religion were never easy when their Zion was without a shepherd.

We have been unable to fix the precise date of the following letter, but we suppose it to have been written soon after the close of the labors of Mr. Burroughs:

"To his Excellency the Governor and Council sitting in Boston.

We, the subscribers, humbly pray that your Honors would be pleased to consider the distressed condition of the inhabitants of Wells, who are not only objects of pity with reference to the enemy and the length of the war, but also with reference to their spiritual concerns, there not being one minister of the gospel in these parts; and in this town of Wells there are about forty soldiers and no chaplain, which doth much dissatisfy them, especially some of them. If your Excellency with the Honored Council will please to send us a minister to be chaplain to the soldiers and also minister of the town, we will allow him what we can for encouragement, with what the country may allow him upon account of the soldiers, we hope will be sufficient satisfaction and encouragement to us to stand our ground, as also to the soldiers to continue here, and so shall your servants remain to pray, etc.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

SAMUEL STORER.

JAMES GOOCH.

These few persons subscribing are personally known here in Boston.

If it were at Wells we have grounds to believe there would be the general voice of the town for the same."





But we have no knowledge that any chaplain was provided for the town. The years of the war remaining were passed without any regular religious worship on the Sabbath. The people could not pay the salary of the minister, and even if one had been stationed with them, by the government, but few could have had the benefit of his religious services. The savages had no respect for the Lord's day, and the people required the same vigilance on Sunday as at other times. Few of us would have been willing to expose ourselves to the dangers of a Sabbath day's journey at that period. But the war closed at the beginning of the year 1698, and among the first thoughts of the people, on the return of peace, was that of providing for the worship of God on his holy day.



## CHAPTER XIV.

ACTION OF THE TOWN IN RELATION TO JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS, &c.  
—GORGES' TITLE PURCHASED BY MASSACHUSETTS—FIRST COLONY TAX  
—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—ORDER OF TOWN TO PROPRIETORS TO  
LAY OUT GRANTS—INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE TOWN—MANUFACTURE OF  
ROSIN AND TAR—DISHONEST TAX PAYERS—DISAFFECTION TOWARD MAS-  
SACHUSETTS—TAX ON MILLS—VARIOUS GRANTS—LIST OF RESIDENTS IN  
WELLS FROM 1641 TO 1687.

ALL the proceedings of Massachusetts hitherto had been ineffectual in establishing its jurisdiction over the territory of Maine. A majority of the people, wearied by the constant collision of authority and the uncertainty of land titles, had acquiesced in yielding submission to that colony. Still there were some in all the towns who could not be brought to any such acquiescence. They would not acknowledge any justice in its claims. But Massachusetts persisted in its determination to maintain the position which had been assumed, and adopted every means available to that end. We are not aware of the exact state of feeling in Wells at this time. The Littlefields had gone over to the interests of that colony, and probably some other men of influence; so that in regular town meeting in 1676, the friends of Massachusetts obtained a triumph. The town did not acknowledge the claim which had been set up, but as matter of expediency yielded to it; expressing its wishes in this manner: "Upon information of a complaint made by Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges against the Massachusetts government, together with the extended claims to the propriety of our lands, and the right of jurisdiction over us, exhibited to his majesty, we the inhabitants of the town of Wells, being legally convened to consider the premises; after serious debate of matters, have generally acted, and do hereby conclude, that there be a humble petition drawn up to his majesty in his name, earnestly supplicating his majesty's favor, petition, and confirmation, of the Propriety's lands which we honestly purchased of the natives





and have so long enjoyed, as also for our future settlement under the Bay as Government, with whose jurisdiction over us, under his majesty, we are freely contented and satisfied; and do further order by virtue of the same vote, and by an unanimous consent, that Samuel Wheelright, Mr. Symonds, and Left. John Littlefield be desired, who are hereby empowered, to draw up a petition of the abovesaid town, to be presented to his Majesty."

It may be well concluded that the unanimity here spoken of was the result of the exigencies of the hour. The Indian war was upon the settlers; and of themselves they were entirely inadequate to protect their families and possessions from impending devastations. They were glad to come under the sheltering wing of a power from which they might receive the necessary succor. But that all the conflicting interests were to be reconciled by this juncture of the affairs of the town and of the province probably was not contemplated by the people. The claims and rights of Gorges could not be obviated, or sloughed off, by any acts of the town, or any measures adopted by Massachusetts.

This was, however, the favorable opportunity for that colony to carry out its purpose of securing Maine as part of its territory. The people of the province were rendered powerless by the state of their relations with the enemy. This declaration of a willingness on the part of Wells to submit to her jurisdiction inspired that government with a new resolution to perfect the union which it had heretofore failed to establish. The government on the other side of the water was evidently adverse to the construction which was now attempted to be put on the charter of Massachusetts, so that but little hope could be cherished of any aid in that direction to accomplish the desired end. To defeat any opposition or interposition from that quarter, and to balk any efforts which might be put forth to prevent the execution of a work of so much interest, Massachusetts resolved to purchase the title of Gorges, so that, at once, all the arguments used against the alleged right would be completely neutralized. Arrangements were accordingly made for that purpose; and in 1678, for the sum of £1,250, the title of Gorges became vested in that colony. The wonderful ingenuousness of that government in its apology to the king in 1677, while this arrangement was in process of perfection, will appear to all who have studied the history of this claim, from the following portion of it: "Sure we are that



no intention of wrong to the claimers; no unlawful design of the enlargement of our borders; no profit or advantage thereby accruing; but a grounded apprehension of our interest; real compassion to the inhabitants of an unsettled and ungoverned condition, together with a sense of duty to be faithful to our Patent trust, did cause us to receive them under the wing of your majesty's government in this colony." From whatever motive Massachusetts was led to assert this claim, it was supposed that now both the right of territory and jurisdiction had become vested by this secret purchase. But this sudden ruse created a very unpropitious excitement. The king was much enraged. Still, Massachusetts felt secure in the success of its diplomacy; and the people of the province, in the posture of their affairs, jaded by the anxieties and trials of the war, were content for the present to have this matter at rest.

From 1675, for a period of forty years, we scarcely have any other history than that of the operations, influences, and effects of the most terrible wars with which humanity has been afflicted. Attempts were indeed made in the interims of these desolating scourges to maintain a foothold in various places, though with but a very limited success. Providence did not seem to second the exertions put forth for this purpose. In the year 1675 there was a great scarcity of the necessaries of life. People began to entertain apprehensions of famine. The earth had withheld her increase, and the means of supply were beyond their reach, there being seldom any available communication for the purpose. Nothing was allowed to be sent away but fish, which were to be had in abundance. A colony tax rendered necessary for public objects, was required to be paid into the treasury for the first time. Yet all these adverse pressures did not entirely subdue the enterprising spirit of the people. In 1675 grants were made to John Wells, James Bates, Samuel Storer, Jeremiah Storer, Thomas Boston, and John Bugg. Even in 1676, when the war with the tribes was sending a thrill of horror to every heart, and when, as we should suppose, no one could think of securing to himself lands, or troubling himself about anything else than self-protection, the town, looking to the increase and establishment of settlers, ordered every one, on pain of a fine of twenty shillings, to lay out any grant which had been made to him, within three months. In 1677 grants were made to several persons: to John Drisco, fifty acres, "upon condition that he builds a house upon the lot in one year, and does not desert





the place except he leaves an inhabitant upon it." Similar conditioned grants were made to John Harmon, Gilbert Endicott, and Peter Bass. The confidence in a speedy restoration of peaceful relations with the Indians must have been exceedingly strong, or the courage or recklessness of men very different from what we see at the present day, to have led the possessors of these land grants to enter upon them, with any expectation of fulfilling their conditions. But men inured to exposure and trial will venture almost any hazard to carry out designs on which their hearts are fixed. The people already settled in Wells were anxious for help, and ready to make grants to any who would settle among them. Their own titles had been made secure by a provision in the contract with Gorges, that all who were then holding lands should be undisturbed in their possessions. It was for the interests of the townsmen to strengthen themselves by drawing in as many settlers as possible; yet it is probable that there were fewer inhabitants at the end than at the beginning of the war.

Peace having returned, various questions presented themselves for the action of the town. The old waste places were to be repaired; but such, especially, as the public were interested in. Travel was resumed, and many came back to the province to view the havoc which had been made, and to visit their desolated homes, or the spots on which their rude dwellings had stood. The inhabitants had confined themselves to the neighborhood of the garrisons, while the war lasted. Of course the fences were neglected, and bridges, such as they were, had become dilapidated. The Ogunquit bridge, which, we believe, was the first in town, had become impassible, and the town was indicted for its insufficiency—so also for not taking care of the ferry over Kennebunk river. There was no parleying, at this period, with corporations or individuals, as to their neglects or offenses. The judicial remedy was resorted to without delay.

Previously to the war, all had, to some extent, been employed in agriculture for the support of themselves and families, and some in milling, as the best means at hand to increase their estates. Some few had given a portion of their time to fishing. As fish were abundant, this business was not so profitable as it has been in later periods. The prevailing custom for the use of boats was, that the fisherman should have only one-half of the catch. Boats were then obtained with more difficulty than in later years. The present custom of allowing one-fifth for boat share grew up in the last century.





The milling business was probably the most profitable of any which had been started; but there were not privileges enough for all who might, on that account, be desirous of entering into it, and therefore some other sphere of activity was sought for. The enterprising spirit of some of the people impelled them to a new branch of work. The forests afforded material for the manufacture of rosin and tar. The pine was growing all over the town. The stumps and roots of the trees, cut down for the milling operations, might be put to use for the extraction of these articles so much needed for the purposes of commerce, and some of the enterprising settlers resorted to the experiment of trying their success in this direction. How much was manufactured, or how long the business was continued, we cannot state. We should judge that it might have been profitable, and we can see no reason why it should not be so now, when such havoc is made of the forests, while the material needed for it is left to perish. The value of the article of tar at that time may be tested, the amount of material required for a given quantity and some further knowledge of our judiciary acquired from the fact that, in 1686, John Harmon made a complaint before the grand jury that Richard Rogers had entered upon his land in Wells and carried off eighteen loads of candlewood. This term was then applied to the pitch knots, which were made use of to answer the purpose of candles. Rogers was found guilty of the trespass, and was fined "five barrels of Tar at 25 gallons a barrel." We suppose that was about the worth of the wood, over and above the expense of manufacture. But the authority for the imposition of a fine of this character, we can trace nowhere else than to the brain of the magistrates.

Such had been the vacillation of rights, even during the war, Gorges being sometimes in the ascendancy, at other times Massachusetts, that the people could not understand their position or their obligations; to whose jurisdiction they were amenable, or who were to pay the expenses incurred for the protection and defence of the settlements. This uncertainty had no small effect in checking the zeal of some of the inhabitants, and in 1677 they directed Samuel Wheelright, who was chosen deputy to the general court, to endeavor to ascertain "in what capacity they stood in reference to carrying on the war," and at the same time to assure the government that they were ready to pay their proportion of what had already accrued, and were prepared to do their part in any other war in which



the colonies might be involved. They were not terrified or disheartened at the ordeal through which they had thus far passed. Such has been human nature in all ages. Even the greatest deprivations of war, and the terrible experiences of the battle field, have been insufficient to prevent many from heartily rushing anew into similar excitements. But while they were thus ready to fight out the war, even to the loss of all things, they felt, also, that remuneration for the expenses thereby incurred should be made by the government, in whose interests they were exposing themselves. Having the assurance that Massachusetts had become the proprietor of the territory and would discharge all claims, they maintained their ground until the savage foe thought it wise to leave the field and stay their desolations.

But the financial question now became one of interest. Their own proportion of the burdens must be provided for. The visible property for taxation, aside from their real estate, was exceedingly small, there being several persons who were ready to shirk their responsibilities, by concealing what they had and rendering false statements in regard to it. Amidst all the patriotism of the hour, some souls were found whose niggardliness would well compete with that of some specimens of modern civilization. Dishonesty and meanness are not the exclusive attributes of the nineteenth century. The honor of this kind of fraud was then sought by some of the race. But such iniquity then, as now, was not always successful. Such men were looked after, and at the court holden in July, 1679, the judges, being "advised that some persons in the late assessment for war rates did not give in a true account of their property, appointed Capt. Charles Frost, Capt. John Davis, and Lieut. John Littlefield, commissioners, to sit at York, and invested them with full authority to summon in these unfaithful men, and make them disclose the truth." How this trust was executed we are unable to say; but we have no doubt it was in a good measure successful. In those days, criminals and evil-doers seldom escaped with impunity. The forms and rules, which now so frequently obstruct the course of justice, had not then been introduced. Some tribunal invested with plenary power to the same end would have been a wise institution for all subsequent years.

Notwithstanding the purchase of Maine by Massachusetts, much discontent still remained. Many felt that it would have been better





to have continued under the government of the king. This feeling was strengthened by the act of Massachusetts in assessing a tax of three thousand pounds on the towns of Wells, York, and Kittery, for the payment of expenses incurred in the Indian war. This, in their poor circumstances, was regarded as exceedingly oppressive. Such burdens are apt to affect the political principles of men, and many in the towns of the province signed a petition, addressed to his Majesty, Charles II., requesting that the province might again be taken under royal authority, and the people be allowed to have a government of their own. This petition purports to be addressed to the king by the inhabitants of Maine; but it is principally, we think, in the interest of some of the western towns. Many of the subscribers were of Kittery and York, but only two or three of Wells. The inhabitants of this town, as they had assented to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, for better or for worse, were disposed to abide quietly the consequences. That colony duly organized a government for Maine in 1681, and the relations of the towns to Massachusetts seemed to be thus settled. A provincial council was established, of which Samuel Wheelright, of Wells, was one of the members. Being an influential citizen of the town, the people quietly submitted their affairs to his wisdom.

One provision of the articles of agreement with Massachusetts was, that a garrison at Fort Loyal, at the east of Falmouth, should be maintained by the province. The other parts of the arrangement, it is believed, were perfectly satisfactory to the people. At a court holden on Smutty Nose Island, in November of this year, it was ordered that Fort Loyal should be sustained by a tax on the mills in the province. The relative value of the mills in Wells will be seen by the tax which was imposed upon them. John Littlefield's, on Ogunquit river, were assessed four pounds. Joseph Littlefield's, where Buffum's now stands, on Webhannet river, two pounds. William Frost's, on Little river, one pound. Sayward's mills, on Mousam river, six pounds. Littlefield's mill, on Kennebunk river, near the present main road, four pounds. In 1684, Jonathan Hammond, Joseph Littlefield, and William Frost had built another mill on Little river, which was assessed four pounds.

After the close of the war in 1678, grants of land were made to Thomas Durrel, Nathaniel Cloyes and Abraham Tilton; in 1679, to Henry Brown and Elizabeth Looke; in 1680, to Edmund Littlefield,



of two hundred acres and water privilege to build a mill on Kennebunk river; to Nathan Littlefield, one hundred, Nicholas Cole, one hundred, and Samuel Littlefield, one hundred. That part of the town, now Kennebunk, had been generally neglected up to this time. There was a great rush for mill privileges. And though the Mousam and Kennebunk rivers presented many sites for the erection of mills, they had not hitherto been sought after. They were too far from the help which the exigencies of their remote state might require, and, therefore, people had been disposed to avail themselves of the small streams and the brooks with which the town abounded. Accordingly, in the more immediate vicinity of the settlers, mills were built on every little fall near the main highway. There had been a saw-mill on the small brook near the house of the late John Wheel-right; but as it was not assessed at this time it must have been abandoned. Perhaps it was burned by the Indians during the war. Little river from its mouth to its head, presented many falls furnishing but a small water power, but they were soon taken up and occupied. The territory back of the town was called Eppiford or Epesford, Merryland, and the Great Plains. The original lots beginning on, or a little below the king's highway, extended two and a half miles back into the country. At the head of these lots a highway was reserved, parallel with the king's road, and the Merryland and Plains lots commenced on this. Those who took grants of these lots were thus located between two and three miles from the neighborhood of the townsmen. The territory of Kennebunk was still further off, being four or five miles from them, and about the same distance from the traveled way by the sea, so that immigrants then gave the preference to Merryland. Kennebunk was also an entire wilderness, there being none of those open spaces, ponds or marshes which were found in Maryland, on whose borders people preferred to locate themselves, rather than in the dense forests, where the vision was limited to the very small space which the woodman's axe had opened. Edmund Littlefield, the grandson of the first settler, did not think it expedient to engage in the enterprise of building and operating his saw-mill alone on Kennebunk river, and before commencing sold one-half of his privilege to Nathan and Samuel Littlefield. They built their mill in 1681. This was the last building erected in Kennebunk for many coming years. The remainder was a deep wilderness, and so remained till the close of the two savage





Wars which soon followed. The lot laid out to Henry Brown on the Mousam river may have been occupied, though we think not. Robert Stuart may have built a house on the lot adjoining in 1679 or 1680, but we have no reliable evidence on that point.

In 1681, grants were made to William Frost and Gilbert Endicott on the eastern side of the Branch river; and to John Masters and Abraham Masters at the upper part of Ogunquit river; in 1682, to William Frost and Jonathan Hammond, of 200 acres, on the west side of Little river, with the privilege of building a saw-mill, which was erected the next year. In 1683, grants were made to James Ross of 100 acres on the northeast side of Little river, and to John Littlefield, jr., a hundred acres at the head of his father's, on Ogunquit river, and to Jonathan Littlefield 200 acres at the head of his father's, Francis Littlefield, jr's., original lot; to Joseph Storer fifty acres near Joseph Bolles' land. In 1684, to Henry Brown and James Oare, four and a half acres on the west side of Mousam river, at the head of tide water; 100 to Nicholas Moory on the north side of Little river; to Thomas Cousins 100 on Little river below William Frost; 100 to John Barret, jr., and 100 to Benjamin Curtis on the west side of Mousam river. This last grant was afterwards made to Ralph Andrews.

For a few years the prospects of the settlers had been bright and encouraging, and immigrants had been selecting lots for habitation and improvement; but apprehensions of another Indian war came now like a blight over all the animating hopes of the people. These fears were general, extending through the province and into New Hampshire, various acts of the Indians seemed to justify such apprehensions. But by a timely council these fears were allayed; a new treaty was made with them in 1685. The next year a grant of a hundred acres was made to Francis Littlefield at the head of his lot. But the hopes of the people were again doomed to disappointment. The savages were evidently preparing to kindle anew the fires of vengeance. The obligations of treaties over their untutored minds were of but little weight. The alcohol and artifices of the white man had educated them for their direful work. Hence the aspect of affairs in the province was such as to check any further progress toward the settlement of the town. No one would take a grant on the condition of occupation and improvement within two years, consequently no grants were made after this during that year





or the next. The fears of a rupture were too well founded to admit of any such action ; and in 1688 they were realized by the initiation of a war, memorable for its cruelties and terrible results.

We have been particular in stating these grants, that our readers might learn who the men were who lived, or attempted to live, here during these years of peril, and the time and manner in which different parts of the town began to be settled. All these grantees did not hold the lands assigned to them. The terrors which hung around the settlement appalled many a heart. All could not look forward with composure and fortitude to a new conflict with the red men. Some even, who had entered upon their grants, erected houses and mills, and prepared their lands for cultivation, were terrified at the prospect and fled to places of safety. In 1685, when the apprehensions of a speedy war were general, John Frost who lived near the Eldridge house, sold off his house and lands, embracing 200 acres, which he had occupied some years, to Jonathan Littlefield, and sought a hiding place in Nantucket, where he was beyond the reach of Indian vengeance. The haste with which he abandoned his home is manifested from the fact that he sold his whole homestead and buildings, in the most thickly settled part of the town, for thirty-five dollars. William Frost, also, who lived near Little river, sold his 100 acre lot, his dwelling-house, and one-third of the saw-mill which was built the year before, with all the iron work, to Lewis Allen, and another hundred acre lot on the east side of Little river, for about two hundred dollars. Where he went we are not apprised, probably to Nantucket or the Isle of Shoals, though we are not sure that he deserted the town. George Chambers sold his 100 acre lot near this Little river mill, on the eastern side of the river, which we presume was under cultivation, as no claim of the town existed against it, for ten dollars. John Buckland, who lived somewhere about the village at the Port, on the western side of Kennebunk river, sold his dwelling-house and six hundred acres of land to James Littlefield, and moved to the village in Wells in 1687. His defenseless condition away from all help, afforded abundant reason for his removal. He could not have expected to survive the war. We suppose that this house was afterwards burned by the Indians. We have not been able to learn where it stood.

Beside the apprehension of renewed hostilities on the part of the Indians, there were other causes which hindered the progress of the



settlement. The dissatisfaction and contention of the people with their political status had not yet entirely subsided. Something of the spirit with which this contention was sustained may be learned from the gravamen of the complaint against William Furbish, before stated; that he had abused the authorities by denouncing them as "Devils and Hellhounds." Demagogues were at their work with the ignorant portion of the people, so that the excitement was not suffered to abate. The king was still intent on securing the province to himself. Episcopalians, and the Lygonia claimants also, were heartily opposed to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, so that no one could have entire confidence as to the stability of personal possessions, freedom of opinion, or even to the security of life. War with some power was always imminent.

But there were some circumstances which rendered a location in Wells desirable. It was a shire town. The courts were in part holden here. It was also to some extent the capital of the province. The council under the government instituted by Massachusetts convened here. A little village had also been built up on the sea-board where ready access was to be had to the flats and the sea for a partial supply of the necessaries of life, and mills were in operation to furnish needed materials for the erection of buildings. Still, the obstacles which have been named, were more than sufficient to counterbalance the inducements which were thus held out to those seeking a place of residence.

To aid those engaged in genealogical pursuits, we complete this chapter with a brief account of those who had lived in Wells previously to the second Indian war. Widely variant statements of the population of the town are found in standard historical works. Toward the close of King Phillip's war, Palfrey says, "Wells was again depopulated;" while Williamson states before the initiation of the next war that there were one hundred families here. Our own examination of the matter has led us to a very different conclusion from that of the learned and accurate historian of New England. We know that he must have based his statement on the authority of some generally reliable writer. He never records a fact upon doubtful testimony. We have no knowledge of his authority in this case, but we have the utmost confidence that the alleged fact is without support in historical truth. Wells has never been depopulated from





the day when the first pioneer entered upon its soil. Amidst all the hardships and fearful struggles which the inhabitants were called to face, they steadfastly maintained their hold on the territory. Though some few could not withstand the terrors and realities of the savage war, the main body of the settlers were firm in the resolution not to be driven off by the wiles or the more open manifestations of Indian malice and cruelty. While all the rest of the province east had been laid waste, and the inhabitants scattered, some of them finding refuge in Wells, this town presented a bold and determined front to all the force and stratagem directed against it. They even held their town meetings, and occasionally made grants of lands, required the people to attend public worship, and prosecuted those who neglected to do so. The courts were also holden here, and nearly the entire village was preserved from fire and desolation. We claim for the inhabitants all the honor and patriotism which properly belongs to them. Though poor and ignorant, and not abounding in moral strength, the terrors which constantly beset them were insufficient to drive them from their posts. It may be that some of them were impelled by the order of court, that all deserters from the place should forfeit their estates to brave the perils before them. But, from whatever cause, the fact is beyond controversy that the settlement was not broken up. All the records both of the town and the county, and, we think, contemporaneous history sustain this position.

While we thus believe the allegation of a first or second depopulation unsustainable, we think that Williamson overrates the number of families. Much labor is required to ascertain the truth on this subject. Some of our local historians have regarded the settlement as beginning thirty years after this time. But it was begun by the enterprise of Edmund Littlefield in 1641, and civilization has never since lost its foothold. Though the hazards of war were too appalling to permit immigrants to come in only to share in the struggles of the townsmen, the original settlers held fast to their possessions. Instead of one hundred families at this time, we believe the population was embraced in about eighty. Many of the people who came to Wells and took grants of land, did not continue long enough to fulfill the conditions attached to them, but withdrew to other places, and perhaps resorted to other more congenial business. The follow-



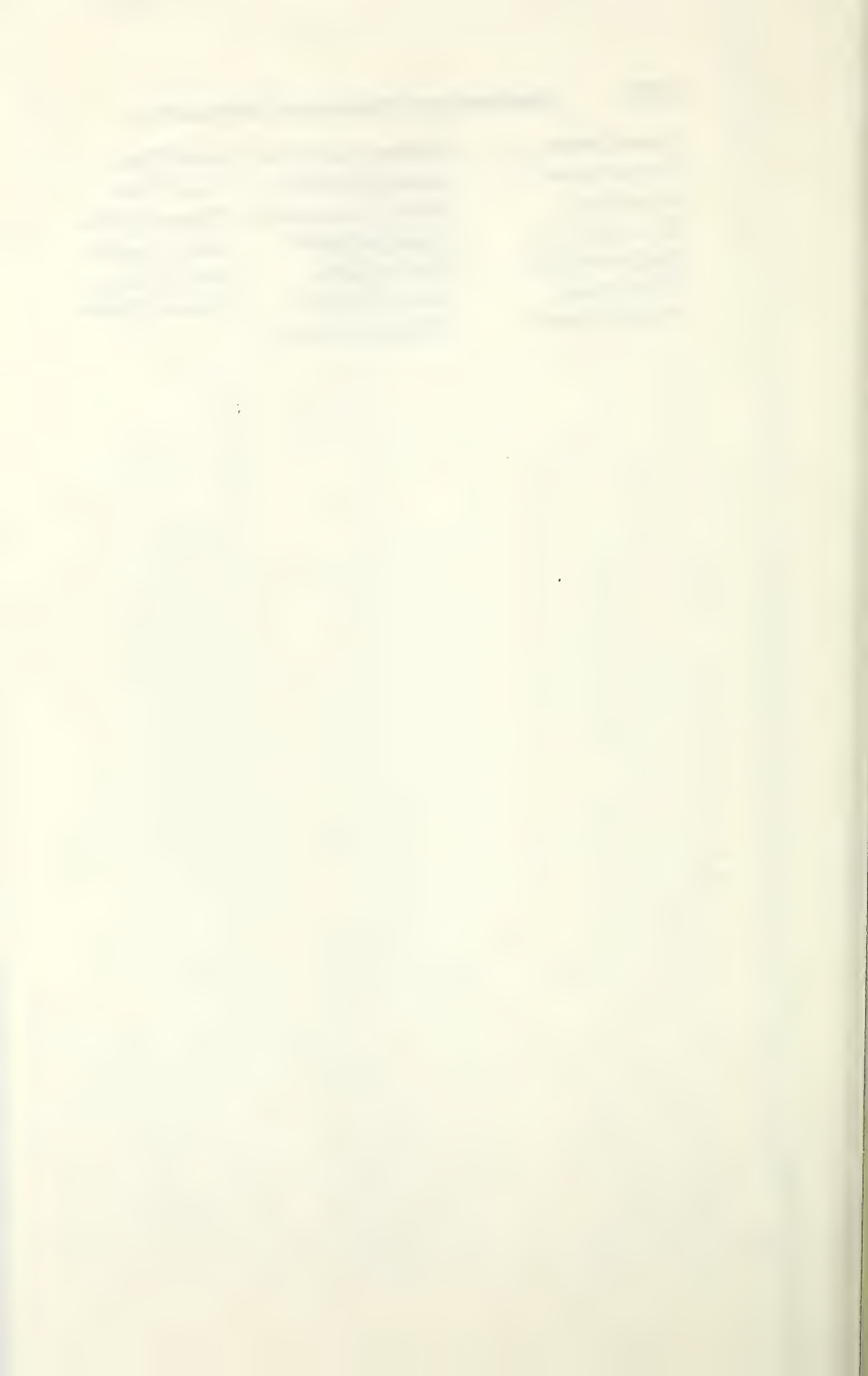
ing list we believe embraces the names of all who resided in Wells from 1641 to 1687 :

|                     |                           |                       |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Luis Allen,         | John Eldridge,            | John Masters,         |
| Ralph Andrews,      | Joseph Emerson,           | John Manning,         |
| William Ashley,     | Gilbert Endicott,         | Thomas Mussell,       |
| Samuel Austin,      | George Farrow,            | Nicholas Mory,        |
| John Barret,        | John Frost,               | Thomas Mills,         |
| James Bates,        | John Frost, jr.,          | James Oare,           |
| John Bates,         | William Frost,            | Philemon Purnotte,    |
| Stover Batson,      | Anthony Feathery,         | Robert Paine,         |
| James Barkhouse,    | John Gooch,               | John Richardson,      |
| Francis Barkhouse,  | John Gooch, jr.,          | Edward Rishworth,     |
| Peter Bass,         | James Gooch,              | John Reed,            |
| Henry Boade,        | Percival Green,           | John Sanders,         |
| Joseph Bolles,      | George Habourne,          | Henry Sayward,        |
| Robert Booth,       | Samuel Hatch,             | John Smith,           |
| Thomas Boston,      | Phillip Hatch,            | William Sayer,        |
| Joseph Bolles, jr., | Israel Harding,           | John Smith, jr.,      |
| William Buckland,   | George Hammons,           | Joseph Storer,        |
| John Buckland,      | William Hamans,           | Samuel Storer,        |
| John Buss,          | Jonathan Hammond,         | Jeremiah Storer,      |
| John Bush,          | John Harmon,              | Benjamin Storer,      |
| Samuel Bolles,      | Robert Hethersey,         | William Symonds,      |
| Henry Brown,        | Henry Hatherley,          | Hartakendon Symonds,  |
| John Bugg,          | Robert Hilton,            | Robert Stuart,        |
| James Boston,       | Ezekiel Knight,           | William Taylor,       |
| James Carr,         | Ezekiel Knight, jr.,      | Jonathan Thing,       |
| George Chambers,    | Edmund Littlefield,       | Abraham Tilton,       |
| John Cheater,       | Francis Littlefield,      | John Trott,           |
| John Clayes,        | Francis Littlefield, jr., | Rev. John Wheelright, |
| Nathaniel Clayes,   | Anthony Littlefield,      | Samuel Wheelright,    |
| Peter Clayes,       | Thomas Littlefield,       | Thomas Wheelright,    |
| Nicholas Cole,      | John Littlefield,         | John Wheelright, jr., |
| Nicholas Cole, jr., | James Littlefield,        | John Wadley,          |
| William Cole,       | James Littlefield, jr.,   | Robert Wadley,        |
| John Cole,          | Joseph Littlefield,       | John Wakefield,       |
| Thomas Cole,        | Jonathan Littlefield,     | William Wentworth,    |
| Thomas Cousins,     | Isaac Littlefield,        | William Wardell,      |



|                  |                          |                |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Isaac Cousins,   | Nathaniel Littlefield,   | John West,     |
| Joseph Cross,    | Samuel Littlefield,      | John Wells,    |
| John Cross,      | Francis Littlefield, 3d, | Thomas Wells,  |
| John Cross, jr., | Josiah Littlefield,      | John Wooden,   |
| Benjamin Curtis, | Gussian Lagan,           | John White,    |
| John Drisco,     | Richard Martin,          | Samuel Webber. |
| Thomas Durrell,  | Nathaniel Masters,       |                |





## CHAPTER XV.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR—LETTERS OF WHEELRIGHT, STORER, AND OTHERS—LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF GARRISONS—LETTER OF CAPT. ANDREWS—A TRUCE SIGNED, AND DISREGARDED, BY THE INDIANS—APPEALS TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR AID—CONTRIBUTIONS—ATTACK OF THE INDIANS UNDER MOXUS—MASSACRE AT YORK—DEATH OF REV. SHUBUEL DUMMER AND WIFE—SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF TWO SLOOPS AGAINST THE ATTACK OF FIVE HUNDRED OF THE ENEMY—ATTACK UPON LITTLEFIELD'S GARRISON—NARROW ESCAPE OF LITTLEFIELD—TREATY ENTERED INTO WITH THE SAGAMORES—ATTACKS UPON DOVER, KITTERY, AND YORK—DEATH OF MAJOR FROST—RUMSELLERS PROSECUTED—MODES OF PUNISHMENT—THE STOCKS—THE CAGE—GRANT OF GREAT FALLS TO JOHN WHEELRIGHT AND OTHERS—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—DEFECTIVE CONDITION OF THE EARLY RECORDS—VOTE OF THE TOWN RELATIVE THERETO—SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT—WILLIAM HAMMOND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unfavorable representation which we have felt ourselves obliged to give of the characters of a majority of the men who were commorant in Wells before the first Indian war, they were not entirely destitute of the elements of a true humanity. Many of them were brave and fearless. Whether this was a reckless courage, or a fortitude having its root in sound moral principle, we shall not stop to inquire. The interests of civilization demanded it, and it was at hand. There were some whose integrity we have no reason to doubt; men ready at the call of duty to buckle on their armor and fight the battle of life, in whatever direction their services might be required. A few of these remained to infuse a noble spirit into the hearts of those who had now come upon the stage of life. Francis Littlefield, Samuel Wheelright, Jonathan Hammond, William Hammond, John Littlefield, and a few others, solidified by more than sixty years' hard experience, were here, invested with the might of a Christian patriotism, and John Wheelright, afterwards called the "bulwark of Massachusetts for defence against Indian assaults." Joseph Storer, distinguished for his exertions and sacrifices



for the protection and preservation of the lives of the inhabitants and of those fleeing from the eastern towns, had now arrived at mature life. Other brave men had come into the settlement, so that most of those, in whose trust now remained the care of the town and the interests of the province, were men of whom their successors may well be proud.

The landing of the first colonists on the shores of New England and their struggles to maintain a foothold here, have been, and continue to be, subjects of deep interest to the historical student. No one can acquaint himself with our early history without wondering at the unfaltering energy and perseverance of those true pioneers of civilization; but there were epochs, one of which we are now approaching, in which the descendants of these noble men and their newly immigrant companions were subjected to an experience, if possible, more trying, and suggestive of a more remarkable fidelity to the interests of humanity, and of faith in the controlling wisdom of the Infinite. No intelligent man, whose moral sense has been uncontaminated by his material relations, can read of the fortitude and unfaltering resolution of the brave men and women of the latter part of the seventeenth century, without having awakened within him admiration of a magnanimity almost supernatural, for which they must ever be remembered. The anxieties and deprivations of the early settlers, the fears incident to their location among savages, and the many hardships which must have attended their struggles for an abiding foothold, can only be realized by those whose lot it has been to have had a similar experience. But however uncongenial their condition, however abhorrent it may have been to the sensibilities of civilized humanity, however tedious, wearisome, and soul-subduing this self-banishment from the joy and quiet of home life in the mother country, their sufferings were light when compared with those of the generation succeeding them, in this second Indian war. The Puritans and their comrades in the same noble enterprise were subject to a severe discipline of affliction; but this severity of trial was not of long duration. The horrors of a long Indian war did not come home to them. They occasionally trembled in view of collision with these wild men of the forest; but they knew not what it was for years to be in jeopardy every hour from their ferocity. Death, or a merciless captivity, seldom disturbed their thoughts. They could cultivate the earth and look forward to its ready benefi-





cence in return, with a reasonable assurance that they would have wherewith to sustain and make life comfortable. And more than this, they were in the full enjoyment of that Christian liberty of which they had been denied in the fatherland. They could daily enjoy a close communion with God, and such a use of his ordinances as would minister to their edification without being subjected to such as were unscriptural and emanating from a bigoted hierarchy. Nothing so tranquilizes the spirit as the peaceful, undisturbed worship of the Infinite; and when the mind, long shackled in its aspirations, comes suddenly into the true liberty of the gospel, a peace and calmness come over the soul which outward circumstances cannot materially affect. Religious fervor is an effectual antidote for innumerable outward afflictions.

The men and women of the last decade of the seventeenth century, dwelling in Wells, and the larger part of the people of Maine, found themselves in a condition far less favorable to personal quiet and peace. They had, in the few years of peace intervening since Phillip's war, built themselves houses, reduced their lands to a good degree of cultivation, and after years of severe and unremitted labor had reached that condition in which they might anticipate the ordinary enjoyments of life. Impending war again blighted their hopes. The fires of revenge were re-kindled in the Indian wigwam, and the tribes launched forth, with tomahawk and scalping knife, to kill, burn, and destroy.

The assurances of the new governor, Andros, that there would be no war, tended to allay the apprehensions which had taken hold of the mind of the settlers. He supposed that the Indians could be appeased by mild and gentle measures; but he knew but little of the Indian character, more especially when it was moulded by French jesuitry. His mistaken apprehensions were soon manifest. His hopes of peace and safety were suddenly blasted, and the exigencies of the moment were to be provided for in the best way possible. He ordered the forts throughout the province to be manned, and the necessary supplies furnished. The fort at Kennebunk, under the command of Lieut. Puddington, was to be relieved from Saco, and that at Wells in the same way. Capt. Noah Wiswell, with thirty friendly Indians well armed and equipped, was sent to protect York and Wells. John Wheelright and Joseph Storer, whose influence will be felt through many years following, and of whom we shall



speak specially in a future page, were immediately in council as to the demand of the crisis, and despatched the following letter :

"Jan. 23, 1689. Major Frost. These are to inform you that Lieut. Fletcher came to Wells, and brought two wounded men to Wells, and the Indians has killed yesterday eight or nine men at Saco, who were looking for horses to go along after the Indians, but now are disappointed and cut off, and they judge there was sixty or seventy Indians that fought the English, and they have burnt several houses and destroyed a deal of their corn, and we judge now is the time to send some of the army east to Saco. The people are not able to bury their dead without help ; and this day, just as they came away, they heard several guns go off, and know not what mischief is done. Pray give York notice forthwith.

To Major Charles Frost, or the Chief Commander of the Army.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT."

Baron De Castine, dwelling on the Penobscot, had become excited against the English, by the treatment received from them in destroying and carrying away his property ; and having unbounded influence over the Indians, he inspired them with his own resentment, and awakened anew within them a spirit of vengeance, which was soon aroused to action, by ill treatment received at Saco and North Yarmouth.

No other town in the province was so well provided with houses of refuge as Wells. This was due to the prudent foresight of Storer and Wheelright. There were here seven or eight garrisons, some of them built in the best manner for defense against assaults from without, and for the protection and comfort of those within. As these buildings are fast disappearing, it may be well to add here, *in memoriam*, some brief account of their construction. The same general principle prevailed in the erection of all ; they were built for defense against the attacks of the Indians only. They were, we think, universally of two stories, the upper projecting out from eight inches to two feet beyond the lower. This projection was designed to give opportunity for those within to fire down, or turn hot water, upon any one attempting to open the doors or windows, small port-holes





being made in the floor of the projecting part for this purpose. Similar port-holes were also made in different parts of the house, for the purpose of keeping watch of the enemy, and for the use of musketry, and for such defensive operations as occasion might require. Some of these garrison houses had a flanker or watch tower, at two opposite angles or corners, and some at the four corners, projecting out from the upper story, from which a view could be had of every part of the building outside; and from which the sentinels could direct their guns against any assailant who should attempt an entrance. Some of them were framed and boarded like the houses of the present day, and were protected by palisades. These were constructed by driving posts or stakes into the ground a few inches apart—sometimes as near as the flooring timbers of a ship. They were put up at some distance from the house, so as to afford room for the inmates to move about in the free air as occasion required.

There were other garrisons, constructed of timber hewn six or eight inches square, and built as are many of the log houses of the present day, the timbers being laid horizontally one over the other, and matched together at the corners, the port-holes answering the place of windows. The doors were of thick heavy plank. In some of the towns there was one large garrison house, to accommodate soldiers sent there for the protection of the inhabitants, and of such others as might flee there for refuge. They were divided into suitable rooms for domestic and social use and comfort; so that families continued to reside in them long after they ceased to be necessary for protection against the Indian enemy. These garrison houses are still to be found in some of the towns. It would be well for the youth of the present generation to make a pilgrimage to them. They are the monuments of the hard life of our forefathers, as well as of the architecture of the olden time. Those who would have the advantage of a personal examination of these relics may find two of them in what is called the Scotland parish, in York. The Junkins house and the McIntire house still survive the ravages of time. The former, windowless, tenantless, dilapidated, and forsaken, yet speaks to the traveler of the fears, anxieties, and struggles for life, through which civilization here maintained its existence.

The principal garrison in Wells was that of Joseph Storer, which stood on the site of the present house of John S. Pope. It was a large establishment, fitted to accommodate a great many persons as





a temporary refuge. It had for its protection a large palisade; on the outside of this, small tenements were erected by various families, so near that they could in a moment rush to the garrison when warned of danger, or when the enemy was known to be in the vicinity. These garrisons are sometimes called forts, and answered well as a substitute. The Indians seldom succeeded in their assaults upon them. The garrison of John Wheelright was at the eastern end of the town, near where stood the house of the late John Rankins. The houses standing where Wm. G. Cole, Daniel Eaton, and George Hobbs now live, were also garrison houses. Jonathan Littlefield's stood near the site of that now occupied by Samuel B. Littlefield; Samuel Wheelright's where Noah M. Littlefield, deceased, lived. William Larrabee's was between the house of the late Benjamin Larrabee and the Mousam river; Thomas Kimball's, where the late Isaac Peabody lived, though the last two were built at a later period.

The people of Wells having but a few years previously gone through the trial of a war with the Indians, knew very well their mode of warfare. Their scouts seldom tarried long in any one place, but did whatever damage was in their power as expeditiously as possible, and then disappeared, to come as suddenly upon some other place. They were great cowards, and were very careful not to tarry where reinforcements might speedily be had. But little was done by them in open day, or after the manner of modern warfare. Except when under the control of French officers, they carried on their evil work by small squads; and not being subject to the discipline and order of large armies, and having but little to encumber them, they could travel a great distance in a day. They had also great advantage, from the fact that they were acquainted with the people, and the location of their houses; and could well calculate the force which they might be obliged to meet, and where they might safely make their assaults.

The communication between the different parts of the province was very slow and unreliable; travelers were in imminent danger at every step; the savages might carry on their works of darkness at any spot, and then push on to some distant place, for new havoc and devastation on the inhabitants, before they could have notice of their previous ravages. There were at this time in the province but few towns which were worthy of the name of settlements; against these their vengeance was to be speedily directed. Wells was one of this



number; it was the important post of the English. The facts, that there were so many garrison houses, that so much care had been taken for the security of the people, and that the government had made it, in some measure, a station for the soldiery, inspired them with increased resolution to wreak their vengeance upon it. If Wells could be conquered, and its people be driven from it, the white men would be obliged not only to stay their aggressions, but to abandon the land which the Indians claimed to be theirs by divine bequest.

In the spring of 1689, the people of Massachusetts, disgusted with the hard and oppressive rule of Andros, had risen and put him and his leading supporters in prison, and committed the direction of public affairs to a large council; and now, regardless of his will, the local authorities set about measures of protection. The eyes of the Wheelrights and Storer were opened to the dangers which were at hand. The combined forces of the French and Indians having commenced operations at Casco, they sent by express the following letter to the commander of the forces in Maine.

“Province of Maine,

1690 May the 18th day.

Major Frost. These are to inform you that the Indians and French hath taken Casco fort and to be feared that all the people are killed and taken. Therefore we desire your company here with us to put us in a posture of defense, for we are in a very shattered condition—some are for removing and some are for staying, so that we stand in great need of your assistance; if we stay we must have more assistance, and if we remove, we must have help and assistance to get away with what we have left—not else.

We remain your servants,

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.”

The darkest day which has ever dawned upon Wells had now come. The terror-stricken inhabitants knew not what to do or where to flee. The cries of women and children, and the certainty that many of them must be the victims of the most terrible cruelty, caused the stoutest heart to quail. But still there were some ever intent on duty, whom no terrors could wholly disarm, and whose on-





ly thought was, what the emergencies of the hour required. Another messenger was dispatched to Boston with this earnest appeal to the new council for help:

"Gent. Our sad condition puts us upon your charity. The enemy is now very near us. Saco is this day on fire; we expect them upon us within a few hours or days at least, and therefore we hereby crave some assistants from you; that we may be in some measure able to stand a few days if it be the will of God, till we heere from the Bay. if we have not immediate help, we are a lost people. So we pray that our good God may move your hearts to pity us, throwing ourselves upon the mercy of God, we subscribe ourselves your most humble and greatly distressed servants.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

Wells, ye 22d May 1690.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER."

The council immediately detached 120 soldiers to Maine, having received from Major Frost and others at Portsmouth, a letter of the same date, stating that all Falmouth "is certainly destroyed, and not one alive but what is in the enemy's hands;" and that on the return of his vessels which he had sent there to ascertain the condition of the fort and of the town, "they saw Black Point, Spurwink, Richmond's Island burning, so that nothing now remains eastward of Wells. We hope your Honors will at last see the necessity of giving a check to the progress of the enemy by dispatching away considerable force forthwith. Otherwise their success will make them pursue their conquests till we are all over. The Lord help you to pity the distresses and send speedy help, which we heartily beg who are,

Hon<sup>d</sup> S<sup>t</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> humble servants.

There are 3 or 400 most women and children come in from the Eastward this week who will perish unless assisted by the charity of others. Wells will desert if not forthwith reinforced."

In another letter, without date, some of the inhabitants of Wells say, speaking of the destruction of Saco, "we got there Friday morning, found the inhabitants in a miserable shattered condition; some of the principal men of that place destroyed by the heathen the day before we got there. Several fishermen and others had buried seven bodies—found and buried two others. Could not stop



because we expected every moment they would fall on us at Wells. We cannot withstand them without help from the soldiers. As for Saco, they are brought so exceeding low that they are just ready to desert without speedy relief. If they go away, Cape Porpoise being gone already, Wells will soon be destroyed. So in a very short time, without speedy relief, the whole province will be wholly lost and left to the pleasure of the heathen. Had not those great Rabellers made such great disturbance amongst us, we should have been in much better capacity than we are (so it is). If speedy help be not afforded us we expect nothing but ruin. We therefore humbly request your speedy assistance, or else farewell this poor province."

Such was the position of affairs for which the men of Wells were now to make provision. Though many hearts were crushed by the magnitude of the terrors which had come upon them, Wheelright, Storer and some others were unappalled by the prospect, and never relaxed their exertions for defense. The dreadful fate of Falmouth inspired them with new resolution to hold the town. All who had escaped from the destruction of the towns east, were fleeing to the west. Wells must be a refuge for them. They soon crowded their houses. All east was desolation. Many, even of Wells, living in the eastern part of the town, passed by the garrisons there to find safety in Storer's.

Although it would be interesting to the people of Wells to be acquainted with the details of the eight years of cruel warfare which followed this period, our work would be too much extended by a complete account of them, even if we had sufficient record evidence on which we could rely for that purpose. But time has swept away the larger portion of the material facts.

Soon after the devastation of all the province east of Wells, it is said there was a severe skirmish here. But as neither history nor tradition has supplied us with the particulars, we are unable to give any account of it except that which is furnished by the following letter. Roger Hill was at this time in the garrison at Wells, while his wife, to whom it was addressed, was in Saco :

"May 6, 1690. The Indians have killed Goodman Frost and James Littlefield, and carried away Nathaniel Frost and burnt several houses here in Wells. I would have our son John hire a boat and bring you from Saco and some of our things, if he possibly can.



I fear it is not safe to come by land. John, be as careful as you can of your mother, for it is very dangerous times. The Lord only knows whether we shall ever see one another any more.

Your loving husband till death.

ROGER HILL."

Soldiers were stationed here under the command of Capt. Wyly. Berwick had been destroyed. This town then was the frontier, and the government directed their attention to its preservation. But now, the fears which had done something to allay the local differences which had previously existed, having in a measure subsided, disunion and disaffection again began to show themselves. Capt. Wyly's place had been supplied by Capt. Elisha Andrews, and our readers will, perhaps, be better satisfied with his statement of the condition of affairs, than by any which we give. He addressed the following letter to the authorities at Boston:

"Ever Hon<sup>d</sup>., WELLS, Oct. 31, 1690.

These are to inform your honors that I received a copy of the order of the General Court respecting Wells of Major Pike, which order I have obeyed. The 28th inst. Samuel Storer arrived here with a hundred bushels of Indian corn and rye, thirty waistcoats, thirty pair of drawers, and a hogshhead of salt, which is but a small supply considering the poverty of the inhabitants, and the necessity the soldiers are in in respect to clothing, shirts, shoes, and stockings, that I have a great deal of trouble to keep them here, the inhabitants not caring for our company, they not desiring above twenty, if any. Therefore, I crave of your honors, that if soldiers must be kept here that we might be relieved and others sent in our room, for there is such animosity between the soldiers and the inhabitants that there is little hopes of us doing anything that tends to God, honor, or the good of the country.

The inhabitants were in but five garrisons when Capt. Wyly's went away, as Major Pike had ordered, and these are removed into seven, and several are desirous of going home to their own houses, and the most part of them is for keeping little or no watch, for there is no command amongst them, which makes them incapable of defense, that if the enemy comes upon us I am afraid their carelessness will be both their destruction and ours also; I entreat your honors to



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take it into consideration. Nothing more material at present. I remain, your honors humble servant at command.

ELISHA ANDREWS."

If your Honors please to discourse  
Capt. Wyly, he can inform you of all particulars."

We presume that the greater part of the refugees from the eastern settlements which had been destroyed had already left the garrisons at Wells, and sought shelter and protection in Massachusetts, and the persons here spoken of were the actual residents of Wells—the same who had before been the disturbers of the peace and indifferent to any question of public safety or interest—ignorant men, fearing nothing, and reckless of the consequences of any action, right or wrong. Had it not been for the righteous men among them, both they and all the town would have had part in the general devastation.

Major Church, so well known for his exertions in the previous Indian war, had been on an expedition to the eastward and had been somewhat successful in his military operations, though they were marked with a degree of cruelty unbecoming a Christian commander. He brought away with him the wives of two of the Sagamores and their children, telling some of the old women whom he had spared in the capture of the fort at Pejepscot that the Sagamores would find their wives at Wells. They were taken and carried there as hostages for the fulfillment of the promise that the English captives in the possession of the enemy should be restored. Church had now returned home to Massachusetts, having left here Capt. Convers and a hundred men.

The Sagamores soon came in and found, to their great rejoicing, their wives and children. They said "the French had made fools of them," and declared repeatedly, "we will go to war against you no more. We are ready to meet your head men at any time and place you may appoint and enter into a treaty." Toward the last of November a truce was signed to continue until May, and within that time they agreed to deliver up all the English captives at Storer's garrison, and to do no more injury to the settlements, and then to make a lasting treaty.

President Danforth with a large company protected by a troop of horse, was present at Wells at the time agreed upon. The Sagamores

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did not appear. Convers, knowing that some of the natives were in the vicinity, sent out and had them brought into the fort, and then inquired why the Sagamores were not there according to their agreement. They answered, "we no remember the time. But still we now give up two captives, and we promise certain to bring the rest in ten days." Danforth was satisfied that they did not intend to make a treaty, and departed, promising to send immediate aid.

It seems to us strange that discerning men could have been so duped by the deceitful promises of these savages. They had just had illustrations of the entire worthlessness of their promises, even those the most solemn. The total disregard of the stipulations made at the surrender of Fort Loyal in Falmouth and other places, ought, one would think, to have fixed in their minds the conviction that no credit whatever was to be given to their engagements.

But President Danforth was anxious for the safety of the province and the people, and probably believed that the mildest treatment would be most effectual for his purposes. Such undoubtedly would have been the true principle of action before any war had intervened. If the natives in their intercourse with the white men had always been dealt with in kindness, there would probably never have been any interruption of their peaceful relations. But the iniquities of the stranger had kindled in the Indian heart the fire of vengeance, and mild, gentle measures could not extinguish the flame. If these hostages had been kept, probably there would have been no return of hostilities.

Though, as before stated, a large part of the refugees from the east had probably obtained an asylum at the west, the soldiers stationed at Wells, and the inhabitants of the town with those who remained here from the eastern settlements, we suppose filled all the garrisons. Unable to purchase provisions for the multitude, and under no obligations to do so, the leading men earnestly urged Major Church to use his exertions to have furnished a further supply of provisions by the government, or by the people at the west. John Wheelright animated with a true patriotism, entreated him to spare no pains for this object, feeling that the town must inevitably be destroyed unless succor was sent. Major Church with all speed reached Boston, and did what he could to awaken the government and the people to the immediate necessities of their condition. But the government were slow to respond to the demands of the occasion.

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. From the first settlers to the present day, the nation has evolved through various stages of development. The early years were marked by exploration and settlement, followed by a period of rapid expansion and industrialization. The American Revolution was a pivotal moment in the nation's history, leading to the establishment of a new government and the declaration of independence. The 19th century was a time of great change, with the Civil War being a major event that shaped the nation's future. The 20th century has been a period of significant progress, with the United States becoming a world power and a leader in many fields. The future of the United States is uncertain, but it is clear that the nation will continue to play a major role in the world.



Church's operations east were not entirely satisfactory, and his influence was in some degree lessened with the officials. But a public thanksgiving was soon afterwards appointed, and the churches were requested then to take a contribution. Subscriptions also were had for the purpose. The ministers exhorted the people to contribute liberally. Many in the State of Connecticut assisted in this charity. The collections were forwarded to John Wheelright, John Littlefield, and Joseph Storer, to be appropriated as they judged necessary to the several garrisons.

About the same time an order was passed that "the committees of the militia of York and Wells are empowered to impress and take any fat cattle for the supply of country soldiers, from any person whatsoever, especially from such persons as desert the Province, they giving a true account of the cattle they shall so take." This order at first sight seems somewhat arbitrary and stringent. But in times of public peril, martial law or any law which will meet the exigencies of the moment, must override all private interests. The soldiery must be sustained. The defenders of the town must be provided for. Without effectual defense the cattle would all have been driven off or destroyed.

But money or provisions alone were not sufficient for the crisis. The Indians not having come in on the first of May agreeably to their promise, the people of Wells were satisfied that hostilities would soon follow. John Wheelright and his friends understood the character of the Indians better than Gov. Danforth. "Their promises," say they, "are as doubtful as themselves." Placing but little confidence in the agreement to enter into a treaty on the first of May, or in their fidelity to the truce as soon as the spring opened, on the 5th day of March they being chosen by the militia a committee for the purpose, ordered that a scout should be maintained "all along the frontier. That Lieutenant Joseph Storer's garrison and the mill garrison should join together with the persons that belong thereto, and maintain a watch of three sufficient persons in a night to walk between the said garrisons, and to take their charge of said Lieut. Storer, or some other person deputed by him every night, and Mr. Samuel Wheelright's garrison, Mr. Francis Littlefield, Mr. John Wheelright, and Jonathan Littlefield's garrison should join together in one watch and take their charge of Samuel Wheelright; and Capt. Littlefield's garrison and all the families about Neganquit



should join in one watch, two in a night, and take their charge of Capt. Littlefield." By a decree of the committee, every man who neglected to comply with this order and perform the duty assigned, rendered himself liable to a penalty.

These noble men were awake to the perilous condition of the town. There were alarming deficiencies of supplies in case of a siege by the enemy. Government did not seem to realize the urgency of the hour, and the inhabitants directed all their energies to make provision for the crisis which, they were assured, was at hand. But what could they do now, when the whole force of the enemy, flushed with their previous successes, should come upon them with that savage ferocity which had marked the terrible conflicts of the last year? How entirely inadequate must have been any means of which they could avail themselves to protect a frontier ten miles in extent! It will be remembered that the settlement at that time was along the seacoast, the houses were few and distant, and the forests above the road had scarcely begun to be subdued. Three or four men, in the darkness of night, could do but little in the way of protection against an enemy who might issue from the woods at any point, unseen by the scout. And what must have been the position of a watchman in going his beat, every moment at the mercy of the savage foe? Of what avail would a company of soldiers be for these men, or for the protection of the town, when these soldiers were shut up in the garrison? All out of the garrison might be murdered, and the assailants be at their doors, before any notice could be had of an attack. It is wonderful that man or woman should have remained here to brave the impending storm. Having done all within their power, the people appealed again to those who were bound to watch over them and provide for their safety. In a letter to the governor and council, dated the 25th of May, 1691, after speaking of the failure of the Indians to come in and complete the treaty, agreeably to their engagement, they say: "It gives us great reason to fear that all our labor and cost in this treaty is lost; our condition needs not much opening to your Honors, some of yourselves being sensible how unable we are of ourselves to withstand such an enemy as we daily expect to come upon us, if God in mercy to us prevent them not. Our humble request to your Honors is, that you would pity our distressed condition, and relieve us with some men, as in your wisdom you shall judge to be servicable for





our defence, without which we cannot expect to continue long in these parts. We desire, if it be your pleasure to grant us assistance, that Capt. James Convers may be impowered as Commander of the soldiers, and also to be added to our comity here,—as to our town garrisons so to dispose of them for our best defence.

Thus leaving ourselves to your Honors care, and the Providence of Almighty God, and rest your Honors, in all Humbleness.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT."

Thirty-five men were sent from the county of Essex. They reached Wells on the ninth day of June. These were stationed at Storer's garrison, and were under the command of Capt. Convers. They were just in season to aid in the defense. In half an hour afterwards the enemy appeared on the open ground, with about two hundred soldiers, under the command of Moxus. They attacked the garrison with great fury; but the inmates, aware of the fate awaiting them if they were overcome, with great bravery defended the fort and compelled the assailants to withdraw. The details of this battle have not come down to us, and we are unable to state any of its results, excepting such as are stated in the letter which follows, and in a letter of Governor Stoughton, of New York, dated June 24, 1691, wherein it is said: "We have intelligence that the eastward Indians and some French have made an assault upon y<sup>e</sup> garrisons in and neere the towne of Wells and have killed about six persons thereabout. They drove their cattell together, and killed them before their faces." They then departed, leaving word that the assault would soon be repeated. Madockauando also said: "Moxus miss it this time; next year I'll have the dog, Convers, out of his den."

The government do not yet seem to have comprehended the necessities of the place. We cannot, for a moment, think that they were indifferent to the fate of the great number of people pent up in the garrison houses. Yet the supplies did not come, and the people came together once more to urge upon the governor the pressing needs of their condition, and despatched still another letter, setting forth their recent losses, and appealing to him for further aid in this





trying hour. They felt the need of some more rigorous measures, that the cowardly and indifferent among them might be compelled to assist in the great struggle. The following despatch was hastened off:

“Wells, July 21, 1691.

We being the front of all the eastern part of the country, remotely situated, for strength weak, and the enemy beating upon us, we can think of no other, but we are fair for ruin, and humbly conceive your honors are sensible of it, without seasonable help; our stocks are wasted the thirteenth of June last. The enemy killed and drove away upwards of one hundred head of cattle, besides sheep and horses; some of our corn is already lost, and more in great hazard; we therefore, distressed, make our humble address to your honors for men, with provision and ammunition for the strengthening of our town, with what force your honors shall see fit to keep out; also that there may be a magazine in the province that supplies may be near, whereby time will be redeemed, soldiers encouraged, and opportunity improved against the enemy; also that there be an effectual care taken, that the inhabitants of this province may not quit their places without liberty first obtained from legal authority; thus encouraging ourselves with the hopes that your honors will timely answer us herein, that so we and the rest of this poor province in great hazard, may yet stand, which may be to the honor of God, the interest of his majesty, and of the country, we rest, your honored humble servants,

The town of Wells have made choice of the worshipful Samuel Wheelright and Jonathan Hammond in this concern.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD.  
GEORGE BURROUGHS.  
JOHN LITTLEFIELD.  
JOSEPH STORER.  
JOHN WHEELRIGHT.  
JOHN HILL.  
PENDLETON FLETCHER.  
JOHN CLOYES.  
NATHANIEL CLOYES.”

From the foregoing representation, we infer that the skirmish before spoken of, as so severe, must have been a protracted siege of four days; having begun on the ninth and continued till the thir-



teenth, when the cattle were driven off or killed ; and as no allusion is made to any loss of men, we presume that none of the inhabitants were killed ; but the settlers were so few, the probability is that they were deprived of the larger part of the stock, and thus were forced by their necessities to appeal again to the government for help. The careless and indifferent officers of the province, whose business it was to watch over this distressed people, seem to have acted only when entreated to do so. Nearly all the inhabitants remaining in the province were in these garrisons. They were not allowed to leave, and consequently unable to do anything toward providing for their wants, and yet the government were waiting always for repeated entreaties, before taking any steps to provide the proper subsistence for them.

Letters written at the time afford a better picture of the situation of these poor prisoners than any that we can give ; and therefore we think it desirable to place them before our readers entire, knowing, as we do, how much more interesting to the descendants are the words of their fathers, than any that we could use expressive of the same facts. It may be well also to remind the reader that the first subscriber to the next petition, who also subscribed the last, and probably wrote both, was that unhappy man, whose sad fate during the ensuing year, will forever remain a stigma upon the fair fame of New England. He labored to save the town from ruin, and was giving to it all his moral and physical energies, when the delusion of 1692 which overshadowed the people of Massachusetts, brought him to the scaffold.

“WELLS, Sept. 28, 1691. To the Honored Governor and Council.

Whereas it hath pleased God (both formerly and now) to let loose the heathen upon us by holden us off from our improvements, keeping us in close garrison, and daily lying in wait to take any that go forth, whereby we are brought very low, not all the corn raised in the town is judged enough to keep the inhabitants themselves one half year, and our stocks both of cattle and swine are very much diminished.

We therefore humbly request your honors to continue soldiers among us and appoint a commander over them, and what number shall be judged meet to remain with us for winter that provisions,





corn, and clothing suitable for them may be seasonably sent, also one hoghead of salt, all ours being spent; also a present supply in that what was sent before is almost gone. We had a youth seventeen years of age last Saturday carried away, who went (not above gunshot) from Lieut. Storer's garrison to fetch a little wood in his arms. We have desired our loving friends, Capt. John Littlefield and Ensign John Hill, to present this to your honors, who can give a further account of our condition. We subscribe,

GEORGE BURROUGHS.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOHN CLOYES,

NATHANIEL CLOYES."

On the same day the soldiers of the garrisons entered a complaint, in which they say that they were "naked and destitute of clothing, and wish to be discharged, unless supplied; and that Capt. C. Creek is not capable of any command—they are not able to bear his cursing and swearing. A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand;" and praying that he might be removed.

We do not often meet a soldiery so sensitive to the sacredness of christian morals, and so thoroughly imbued with a sense of the vulgarity and baseness of profanity, as to consider the companionship of those with whom it constitutes a large part of their language, as unendurable. If there is any iniquity which is more revolting than an other, and utterly without excuse, it is that of the reckless and constant use of language which sets at defiance every sentiment of reverence for the Almighty, and all the sacredness of christian civilization. It was a noble spirit in these heroic soldiers, which emboldened them to brave the vengeance of such a commander, by asking for his removal.

Capt. John Hill had with him at the same time, a company of thirty-eight men, but they were, we suppose, at some other garrison. He urged the recruiting of more soldiers, and that Capt. Convers might be sent to Wells speedily. The enemy were daily expected; but some time elapsed before the Indians again showed themselves in this neighborhood. The promise of the tribes that they would come in and deliver up all English captives in May, and enter into a treaty, had had the effect of quelling the anxiety of some of the



people, and they began to be careless of their condition. Though they failed to fulfill their promises, the inhabitants of York, and others in the vicinity, do not seem to have heeded the admonition which such a breach of faith ought to have brought home to their hearts. It seems to us that the experience of former years ought to have impressed all with a sense of the worthlessness of their promises. Whether treachery was an element of the Indian character before the advent of civilization, cannot now be determined. But whether it was or not, the natives might well plead in extenuation the conduct of many of the early visitors to the shores of New England, and the wicked murder of so many of their own number in a former year at Dover. The civilization of the world has been, in some instances, very far from christian.

While all uneasiness had been thus quieted in some parts, the Indians were preparing for a more effectual campaign. They were bent on a general destruction of all the remaining settlements; and having now mustered a force of 250 of their own number, and some Frenchmen, they, on the fifth day of February, 1692, attacked the village of York. On the morning of that memorable day the enemy suddenly rushed upon the inhabitants, who were at rest in their beds, and a scene of horror ensued, unparalleled in the history of the State. The agonies of that hour no pen can describe. The merciless barbarism of the Indians was well understood by all, and the large number of the assailants precluded all hope of escape. A horrible death, or a more cruel captivity, awaited each one. The savage yell sent a thrill of terror to every heart; unprepared for defense, the people could do nothing to save themselves, and the enemy drenched the town with the blood of their victims; neither age nor sex escaped; all were subject to the common doom.

Rev. Shubuel Dummer, who married a daughter of Edward Rishworth, previously of Wells, eminent for his social virtues and his moral and mental culture, was shot down while mounting his horse. His wife was seized and carried into captivity, where, heart-broken, in view of the awful massacre, the murder of her husband, and the frightful prospect before her, she soon yielded to the king of terrors. Those who had reached the garrisons were saved. But seventy-five of the inhabitants were murdered, and eighty-five taken captive. With the exception of the garrison houses, the whole village was destroyed. Many of those who were carried away died in captivity.





Under the new charter of William and Mary, which took effect May 4, 1692, Phipps had been appointed Governor. He felt more deeply the necessity of adopting thorough measures of defence. But so far as Wells was concerned, we have been unable to discover any such attention to the pressing wants of the people as we should expect. This awful carnage at York, and the destruction of that village, was fresh in the minds of the people. The Indians had disappeared from that town as suddenly as they had come upon it. No one knew where they had gone. At any hour the awful scene might be reenacted at Wells. They remembered the word of Moxus when he retired from the contest the previous year. They knew the resolution of the tribes, instigated by the French, to drive all the English into the sea. No delay in the execution of their threats, lessened the assurance that the evil day must come. Government had furnished them with but a small military force, though they had now a heroic commander. As to those in the garrison, the question was narrowed down to one of life or death; and they were nerved up to whatever work the occasion might require. Terror did not disarm them, or lead them to seek personal safety in flight. They buckled on their armor and resolved to stand fast at their posts.

Capt. Convers had been assigned to Stover's garrison agreeably to the request of the people. But the whole soldiery under him consisted of only fifteen men. This was all the reliable force to which those shut up here could look. There were, indeed, many magnanimous and noble men and women among them. Some had fled there from scenes of carnage in the East, and were wrought up to a frenzy against the relentless fiends who were to come down upon them. Though not drilled for military service, when life depended on the issue, they were ready for any post.

Two sloops, under the command of Capt. Samuel Storer and James Gooch, had arrived on the ninth of June, laden with provisions and ammunition. They had also fourteen additional men for the garrison. On the same day, the cattle came running from the pasturage from fright. Madoekawando, very indiscreetly, had fired upon them. Thus notice was given of the approach of the enemy. Capt. Convers gave orders to all in the garrison and in the sloops to be on their guard, and made every preparation for defense. Spies had been sent forward by the Indians, to make reconnoissance; and one John Dia-





mond, a passenger in the vessel, attempting to escape to the fort, was seized by them and dragged away by the hair.

Soon the enemy, in force, numbering five hundred, made their appearance. Whether they emerged from the forests, or came up from the East in the highway, history gives us no account. They were under the command of Portneuf and Labocree, French Generals, aided by other French officers and several Indian chiefs. This mode of presenting themselves in face of an enemy, we think was not well suited to Indian habits of war. We have abundant evidence that they were of a very cowardly temperament. They chose to carry on their work by wile and stratagem, in small scouts, and not liking to expose themselves to musket balls, they would have fought better after their own fashion. With such a force as they had, the enemy were sure of success. It is said, they had examined Diamond, and obtained from him all his knowledge of the condition of the garrison and of the vessels; and to encourage the Indians, the officers had promised them all the pillage. Mather says, "they fell to dividing persons and plunder." Such an English Captain should be a slave to such an one; and such a gentleman should serve such an one; and his wife be a maid of honor to such or such a squaw; and Mr. Wheelright, instead of being a worthy councilor as he now is, was to be the servant of such a Netop." "Gooch's vessel was two miles up the river," says the same author, "and he wisely brought her down, undiscerned, to Storer's, by the advantage of a west wind then prevailing. A careful night they had on it." One of the enemy's officers stepped out in front and addressed the soldiers, calling upon them fearlessly to enter upon their work, assuring them that victory would surely crown their efforts, and that all should be theirs. It would have been a great prize to any of them to secure John Wheelright. He was the life and strength of the town. These promises inspired them with a courage which they had probably never manifested before.

Then, with the Indian yell, they assailed the garrison. But all their attempts to force an entrance were vain. The brave defenders put into their work their utmost energies. Their well-aimed guns made havoc in the ranks of the enemy. Mather says, "they kept calling to surrender, which ours answered with a laughter with a mortiferous bullet at the end of it."

At the same time while a portion engaged the garrison, the rest



attacked the vessels. These lay in a narrow creek where they could not be moved, and were so situated under a high bank that they could not be boarded. Mather says, "our sloops were sorely incommoded by a turn of the creek, where the enemy could be so near as to throw mud aboard with their hands. Other accounts make their distance from them sixty yards. They then built a breastwork of plank, hay and other articles near at hand, over which they fired, and one Indian, with a courage unusual in the natives, took up a plank or slab and carried it before him as a shield, when a shot from one of the sloops, says the author before quoted, "went through the slab and he fell down under it, with the slab for a tombstone." They succeeded two or three times in setting the vessels on fire; but the brave men were on the alert, and with long poles and a mop on the end readily extinguished the flames.

These stratagems being of no avail, the enemy attempted another experiment. They built a breastwork and platform on wheels, on which several of the men were pushed forward toward the sloops; but when they were within fifty feet of the vessels, one of the wheels sunk in the mud and the machine became immovable. One of the Frenchmen jumped off to raise the wheel, "Storer shot him down." Another stepped out, and "Storer shot him down." "The tide rising," says Mather, upset their chariot so that the men were open to the sloops, and they got away as fast as they could." All their contrivances and manœuvres were unsuccessful. They continued their firing till the close of day. Defeated in all their machinations, they called on the Spartan heroes to surrender. But they only responded to the call by a loud laugh. They had lost none of their courage, though thus assailed by an almost overwhelming force.

The battle of the first day thus closed without any success on the part of the enemy, except the killing of one man on board the sloops. Though the Indians knew that the brave defenders on board the vessels were few, they were probably somewhat embarrassed in their movements by the continual fear that reinforcements might come upon them from the West. Just before they came upon the garrison a scout of only six soldiers had been sent toward Berwick. These returning the next morning suddenly came upon the enemy. The corporal with great presence of mind and quickness of thought, cried out, "Captain Convers, wheel your men round the hill and these few dogs are ours." Supposing Convers was close at hand, and that they





were about to be entrapped, they all fled with the utmost speed, and the scout safely entered the garrison.

The next morning, Sunday, the enemy, having recovered their courage, resumed their operations on the garrison. For a while a dead silence had prevailed all around. But they now approached in the full confidence of success, much to the terror of some within the fort. One of the soldiers whose heart fainted within him at their approach, feeling that it was impossible for the small company within to withstand the assaults of the enemy, and that death must be the sure fate of all if they attempted to resist, called on Captain Convers to surrender. "Utter that word again," replied Convers, "and you are a dead man." "All lay close and do not fire until you are sure of execution." The assailants marched steadily toward the garrison and gave three hideous shouts, while some one called out in English, "Fire and fall on, brave boys," and the whole at once discharged their guns. But the garrison returned their fire with cannon and muskets. The women at this terrible crisis bravely competed with the men in touching off the cannon, handing the ammunition, and doing whatever was required, until by the extraordinary exertions of all, male and female, the enemy was driven from the ground and abandoned the assault upon the garrison. But once more they directed their forces to the destruction of the vessels, trying a new stratagem. They constructed a raft about twenty feet square and loaded it with combustible matter. This they towed down the river as far as they could safely venture, set fire to it, and then left it to float down to the sloops. But a higher than human power interfered; the wind changed and blew the raft on the opposite shore, and thus defeated this well-contrived scheme. Baffled in all their attempts to induce the garrison to surrender, or to capture the vessels, and thinking it hazardous to continue the siege longer, they retreated, doing all the damage in their power. They had lost their commander, Labrocree, and several of their men, while the English lost only the one sailor on board the vessel. Disappointed in their hopes, mortified at their complete discomfiture, and angry at the obstinacy of the unyielding English, they vented their malignity on the unhappy Diamond whom they had captured, maiming and murdering him in a manner too shocking to describe.

The men and women gathered at Wells in 1692 had backbones; with nerves and muscles trained up by attrition with the adversities



of life, to meet any difficulties or dangers that might beset them on their earthly pilgrimage. They had faith in man and faith in God, which made them strong and fearless in an emergency, that would have paralyzed most men and women at the present age. Mather says this was "as worthy an action as is in our story." We feel that this is a very inadequate description of this memorable conflict. History does not record a struggle more worthy of perpetual remembrance. Here were five hundred men pitted against seven or eight sailors, on board two small vessels lying against the shore; and yet these few men, with an unflinching courage, kept this whole army at bay, defending themselves and their vessels until the enemy, who had come upon them flushed with the certainty of success, were obliged to retire from the contest. There was scarcely a probability that they could withstand the assault for a moment; but calmly and unmoved by the awful portent, they stood by their posts and foiled all the artifices of the enemy. The names of those noble men, Gooch and Storer, should never be forgotten by the townsmen of Wells. We know not who else was on board these vessels, and engaged in this desperate conflict; but known or unknown, the whole crew were more worthy of monumental remembrance than the thousands of more modern times, whose memory is sanctified in the hearts of their countrymen, and by memorials outliving the frail human tabernacle.

We know not whether the little band on board the vessels, or the noble men and women within the garrison, are entitled to the higher meed. History speaks of fifteen soldiers within the latter; but we think there may have been thirty. Whether the latter or the former is the true number, the victory over the assailants was one that entitles not only these soldiers, but all who were within the walls of the fort, to the grateful remembrance of those who "have entered into their labors." The courage of the brave and intrepid Convers kept that of all his comrades from waning. He knew how much depended on his own resolution and firmness; his noble manliness amidst the storm was the inspiration of all about him. They labored unflaggingly, till victory came. After three days' fighting the enemy was beaten back, leaving them unharmed through all the fearful encounter. Brave and patriotic spirits! Though your noble deeds have been almost forgotten by the generations which have succeeded, these pages shall bear grateful testimony to your unsurpassed valor.





We think it will not be amiss to introduce here another instance of the bravery and resolute action of our maternal ancestry. We are uninformed as to the particular time, or in what war with the natives it occurred, but we record it as an instance, illustrative of the noble traits of female heroism, so often exhibited during these harrassing conflicts with the natives. It probably occurred during the year preceding the battle of which we have just given an account. There was another garrison house—Jonathan Littlefield's—a few rods from the present house of Samuel B. Littlefield. Although war with the Indians was now in progress, none of the enemy were supposed to be in the vicinity, and the inhabitants at times ventured some distance from their homes, from the necessities of business. The garrisons were never left without some protection, and provision was always made for the proper signaling in case of alarm. The firing of three guns in quick succession, was notice to all to haste speedily to the garrison. At this time there was only one soldier stationed at Littlefield's, and he and Mrs. Littlefield were the only persons within the walls. Mr. Littlefield had gone to the marsh to look after his hay. While thus engaged, to his dismay, the report of the signal guns reached him. In an instant his resolution was made. His noble wife, the partner of his joys, his unflinching companion in all the adversities of life, must be saved. Though horror-struck at the thought of her peril, he was not unmanned. His physical energies were up to his resolution; and with the determination of rescuing, or dying with her, he reached the highlands. Casting his eye toward his home he discovered a large number of Indians besetting his house. Wheelright's garrison was close at hand, and dragging himself along under the fence as rapidly as possible, he reached there undiscovered. From the port-holes he could distinctly see the position of the enemy. No person could be induced to attempt with him the awful hazard of succoring the besieged; but his resolution was fixed. He had seventy-five or a hundred rods to go before he could reach his house. His heart was stout, and he would rescue the wife of his bosom or share her fate, whatever it might be.

Dropping flat upon the ground, he dragged himself along, under cover of the fence as far as it extended. From that point, a distance of about five rods, he must cross an open space, in full view of his ever watchful foe. If he would reach his house he must run the gauntlet of a hundred bullets. His faithful wife, who had guarded





their house in his absence, and with anxious fears had watched him as he crept along the fence, was waiting for him at the gate. He was near enough to discern the terrified expression of her face—more fearful for his safety than her own—and he could not hesitate. He could not turn his back upon her, although to go forward seemed to challenge death. Instantly he sprang to his feet and rushed forward through the gate, which, as it swung on its hinges, received the hostile bullets, leaving him unharmed.

The enemy, we presume, was posted at some distance from the garrison. Their cowardice would not allow them to hold a nearer position. They feared the occasional shot with which the brave woman alone had kept them at bay. By raising the crown of a hat now at one point and then at another, she had led them to suppose that the house was well guarded by soldiers. Alone and by her well-devised stratagem she had kept in check more than one hundred Indians, while the cowardly soldier who had been left in charge, at the first appearance of the enemy, had fled to the cellar and there concealed himself.

After Littlefield arrived, this man was brought out from his hiding place and driven to duty, and by the skillful management and energetic action of the three, the enemy was induced to abandon the attempt to capture the garrison, and departed, leaving them in peaceful possession, and rejoicing in that wonderful intervention of a kind Providence, by which their lives had been preserved.

The memory of the brave defender of this garrison is worthy of perpetual remembrance. Wells might well place her by the side of any heroine of ancient or modern times.

Capt. Convers, for the defense of the Storer garrison, received the highest plaudits of the people and of the government. Having but a few fighting men to sustain him against all the force of a large army, he was regarded as having acquitted himself with great skill, and was soon afterwards commissioned as major, and invested with the authority of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Maine. But this devoted, energetic wife, Abigail Littlefield, and her magnanimous husband, who to save her in her terrible extremity, dared almost certain death, were not less worthy the high commendation awarded to him; and any of their descendants now living may well be proud of such a noble ancestry.

Disappointed in their assurances of success in overcoming the



Storer garrison, the enemy vented their malice in the destruction of whatever property came in their way. They burnt the house of Mr. Littlefield nearly opposite, and drove off and killed fifteen cattle belonging to John Wheelright.

After this the enemy seem to have despaired of accomplishing the designs in which they before had the fullest confidence. Wells being a frontier town, its destruction was all-important. But failing in their attempt upon the Storer garrison, their courage seems to have abated, and the town was not much molested by them during the remainder of the war.

In the spring of 1693, Convers came into Maine with three hundred and fifty soldiers. They rebuilt the fort at Saco, and traversed the province even to the eastern part, but could find none of the enemy. The Indians entertained such a wholesome fear of this new commander that they everywhere fled at his approach; and in August the principal Sagamores came in and entered into a treaty of peace. But French jesuitry, opposed to any such peaceful arrangements, set about kindling anew the fires of vengeance which had thus been quietly subdued. They were so far successful, that the treaty was soon broken and the savages again engaged in their direful work, the destruction of life and property. Madockawando with two hundred and fifty Indians attacked and destroyed Dover. Some of them afterwards came into Kittery and York, killing several persons in those places. Among the persons upon whom their vengeance fell in Kittery was a little girl, who was cruelly scalped, but survived this terrible maiming and afterwards recovered. Similar instances of such recuperation are known to have occurred during the wars. But the Indians had lost courage, and were soon wearied with these incursions. Their physical wants were poorly supplied, and their energies thereby so relaxed that they again became anxious to lay aside the tomahawk.

Williamson speaks of a truce as having been entered into at Ruthersford's Island on the twentieth of May, 1695. We suppose that such a conference took place. But on the first of May several of the Sagamores and eleven Indians came to Lieut. Storer's garrison, in Wells, and here entered into a treaty, in which they agreed to make good their covenant and to return their captives in twenty days. They brought with them at the time two children, saying there were seven more at Kennebec, and that several were at Penobscot, and





some further east. They engaged also to keep the truce till they came with the captives.

The war having continued seven years, the people were wearied with its anxieties and incessant watchings, while the loss of time away from their homesteads, and the daily diminution of the little property that they had acquired, so worried their souls that they were ready to brave any peril for the enjoyment of liberty. Pent up as they had been, cut off almost from God's sunshine, these men and women, whose limbs had been wont, by their daily activities, to give life, tone, and animation to all their physical energies, and thence cheerfulness to their spirits, longed for the freedom of the former days, when industry was bringing to their hearts and to their firesides contentment and the quiet peace of the daily labor done and duties performed. Much of the time, it is true, they could go out the gates, and perhaps many of them could see their homesteads in their abandoned and desolate condition. The reckless might rove from the garrison, saunter to the flats, go out on the sea for fishing, and possibly hunt the forests for game. But to the prudent and cautious, the fearful and anxious, this constant apprehension of Indian raids and ravages, and the consequent restraint of liberty, so necessary to human happiness, brought much faintness of heart and weariness of life.

So long cut off from the labors of the field and the joys of home life, the people did not feel much like laboring to repair or rebuild the prison house, in which they had been excluded from that freedom without which all the joys of life pale and the soul withers. The Storer garrison was much dilapidated, and for security needed extensive repairs. Mr. Storer was not able to do the work himself, and he had no motive which was not common to all for making the attempt. The government saw the necessity of the work, and agreed to remit the province taxes for the year, and to relinquish all claim for the provisions and support which had been furnished for the inhabitants. One would hardly think it possible that any civilized administration would have called on these afflicted people to pay taxes and for necessities for the support of life, while all their energies were taxed to the uttermost in defending themselves and families from the ravages of their relentless foes, and while they were at the same time holding the province for the benefit of the government. But still it was better, far better, when safe, to labor



any way and for any purpose, than to be idle. The garrison, we presume, was put in a safe condition. The people had had some little respite from their cares for self-protection, and for a time more freedom had been enjoyed. The desolations of the savages had been stayed, and men had ventured more freely to their farms, while the Indians had been pretending that they were anxious and ready for peace.

But the same duplicity which characterized their previous intercourse with the English had its part in this conference. They paid little attention to the agreement entered into, but, controlled by the same influences as before, they were soon again roaming abroad in squads, in different parts of the Province, issuing suddenly from the forests, and killing or carrying into captivity all who were not upon their guard. Some persons were killed at Saco, but it is not known that any incursion was made at Wells. All apprehensions of danger had here subsided, and the people began to attend to their work away from the garrisons. Others ventured from their homes to visit friends whom they had not seen during this long war. But during the next year (1696), a small body showed themselves in York woods, and Thomas Cole and his wife, Abigail, and two other men and their wives, who had been on a visit to York, on their return were waylaid by them. Cole and his wife were shot dead. The others escaped and reached their homes in safety. Cole was the son of Nicholas Cole. We presume that he left no descendants. He had twins, but they died in infancy.

Lieut. Larrabee was now sent out with thirty "praying Indians," as they were then termed, to scout about the towns at the eastward as far as Casco. He watched about the Saco river, lying in ambush about a week, and killing some of the Indians as they passed in their canoes. They were then abroad on their errands of slaughter and destruction. Major Charles Frost, a brave man, whose energies at this trying hour were devoted to the public welfare, the preservation of the lives and the possessions of the people, was a leading object of Indian malice and vengeance. His death or capture was material to their success. Their wiles soon effected their purpose. The family had attended public worship on the Lord's day in Kittery, now Eliot, where they resided, on the fourth of July, 1697. On their return home, the Indians having concealed themselves effectually on the way, while they had permitted his two sons to pass un-





harméd, killed Major Frost and a man who had accompanied him, and at the same time John Heard's wife, wounding Heard himself. Williamson errs in the statement that Frost's wife was killed.

The death of one so important to the defense of the Province, was a sad event to the people. Soon after the news reached Wells it was communicated to Capt. John Hill in the following homely, though affecting letter. It cannot fail to be read with interest. "Brother Hill. It hath pleased God to take away Major Frost. The Indians waylaid him last Sabbath day as he was coming home from meeting at night and killed him; and John Heard's wife and Dennis Downing, and John Heard is wounded. The good Lord sanctify it to us all. It is a great loss to the whole province, and especially to his family, and last Monday the post that came to Wells, as they went to go whom the Indians killed them about the marked tree. Namely, Nicholas Smith, Proper, and Henning Simpson. Brother, Mistress Frost is very full of sorry; and all his children, Cousin Charles and John was with their father, and escaped wonderfully and several others with them. Capt. Bracket went with some of his company a Monday by the way of Newichawannock, and I went with them and was there at the Major's funeral; and I see your wife full of grief; and your child is well. Mrs. Frost and sister and all your brothers and sisters remember their love to you; and earnestly desire you to come over if you can possible without danger.

Pray do not venture in the day to com. Remember our love to all our Brothers and sisters and Cousins; and the good Lord keep us in these perilous times, and sanctify all his awful dispensations to us—no more at present,                      praying for you

Wells the 10th July, 1697.      Your very loving Brother,  
JOSEPH STORER."

Major March was invested with the command made vacant by the death of Frost. He was furnished with five hundred men to guard and protect the frontier. He came to Wells, and Aug. 1, writes to Hill at Saco, that greater caution must be exercised by the people in going about. It was the time for getting the salt hay, and he admonished them not to attempt the work of haying, without stationing careful watchers to guard against sudden attacks, and that night scouts should be maintained. The Indians were evidently abroad seeking for their prey. They had killed one man standing sentinel





while some of the people were at work on the marsh. They captured another, carried him a mile and a half, and then burnt him to death. One of the captains with a company of soldiers started in pursuit, but they escaped. Who these two men were we have no means of ascertaining. Letter writers, historians and others at this period, were very deficient in giving the names of persons who were thus martyrs in the cause of civilization. It is a great labor to supply this omission. Houses were burnt, but whose or where located, these writers fail to state.

But the bloody conflict was now ended. We have no more fearful tragedies to recount. The people of Wells amidst all the severe trials which they had encountered had maintained their ground, and could rejoice, though with sadness, that peace had returned upon them, and that they could go to their homes and their husbandry, without fear of assassination by the savage foe.

But little appears to have been done toward extending the settlement during the war, although at times when hopes of peace were indulged, many of the people were making preparation for some new enterprise. The new charter under William and Mary was signed in 1691. After this there was no further controversy in regard to title or jurisdiction. Maine had become an appendage of Massachusetts, and so continued till 1820. In 1692, Eliab Hutchinson and John Wheelright were chosen representatives for Wells. We have no evidence that the former was at any time an inhabitant of the town. It was not uncommon that men should be chosen to represent towns to which they did not belong. As a general rule we think the people then consulted the qualifications for the office to be filled rather than the wishes or aspirations of the candidate. Modern degeneracy had not then usurped control of matters of so great importance, however much iniquity ruled in other departments of social and civil life.

There appears to have been at this time some awakening of the people to the public interests. First of all, they laid hold of the rum-sellers as the authors of much of the public suffering. John Littlefield, James Littlefield, Nathaniel Cloyes, and Jane Littlefield had been engaged in this nefarious traffic. John was a man of high standing among the inhabitants, and it is not easy to account for his unfortunate aberration in this particular at this juncture of the public affairs. But a man's position in society or in the public administra-



tion did not at that period shield him from the penalties of violated law, neither did it make his offense any the less detrimental to the public weal. While the people needed every dollar for the protection and support of themselves and families, these men and this woman had been taking money from their pockets, unfitting them for the services demanded, and more than all, sending them back into the garrisons in a state of intoxication. The people felt severely the evils of drunkenness. The garrison was a grand school for instruction upon this subject, and they were ready to prosecute both the rum-seller and the rum-drinker. Drunkenness was punished by fine, and if the offender was not able to pay he was ordered to be set in the stocks, sometimes with the first letter of his offense displayed on his forehead, so that the passer-by might readily learn why he was placed in that interesting position. The wisdom of those days was exhausted in devising modes of humiliation for misdemeanors, imagining that shame was the most effectual agency in deterring from crime. These stocks were of very simple construction. A frame was built up a few feet from the ground, and on this was placed two sticks of timber, between which the legs of the culprit were confined; and he was required to remain thus exposed to the public gaze during the time decreed by the Court. These stocks were generally located in the vicinity of the meeting-house, where the people by the weekly vision of this punitive machine, might be admonished of the danger of departures from good citizenship, and where the minister, when all spiritual anathemas were exhausted, might point with effect to the carnal weapon directly before their eyes.

There was also another instrument of punishment, the cage, which may have been a little more efficacious than the stocks. We have seen no representation of it; but it probably was much like the cages used for the security and exhibition of wild beasts. This would undoubtedly well accomplish the object in view. Nothing would be more likely to humble a man or woman than to be shut up thus as a show. We have been unable to find that one was ever built, or made use of, in Wells. But in the midst of the war the stocks were needed, and the town was indicted for their neglect in not providing them.

While speaking of these punishments, it may be well to add, that in certain cases, where the trespasser or offender had not the means to discharge the fines imposed upon him, he might be taken and sold





at auction, for a sufficient number of years, to respond to the amount. Our fathers were very fruitful in expedients to compel men to honesty and good conduct, though they were not very successful in their projects.

As just stated, there was no respect of persons in prosecutions for violated law. Modern squeamishness in this respect had not yet become an element of social life. An offender, maintaining a high rank in society, could do much more evil by his delinquencies than one who had not made himself influential by his intellectual, moral or adventitious power. John Wheelright and Joseph Storer were the leading and controlling spirits of the town; they were licensed as retailers, and their houses or garrisons were regarded as taverns and places of entertainment. This same year both of these men were indicted for "keeping keeles and bowls at their houses contrary to law." These were implements of some kind of recreation; but of what character we have not learned. Various plays were prohibited at these places, such as dice, cards, tables, quoits, loggets, bowls, shuffle-board, ninepins, and billiards. Several of these have gone out of use; and possibly the materials, arts, and *modus operandi* have been lost to the world. Dancing does not seem to have been subjected to the anathemas of the law. In Massachusetts, in 1631, four persons, specially named, were admonished not to dance together, and in 1651, it was ordered by the court, that, in consequence of some miscarriages at weddings held at houses of public entertainment, where license was had for the sale of liquors, there should be no dancing on such occasions, at these places. There has never been any statute against dancing, and in this State no prosecution that we are aware of, in which it has had any share in the offense described.

As we have remarked, the spirits of the people seem at this time to have somewhat revived, and they began to look forward to future employments. Enterprising men were seeking for locations the most advantageous for their purposes. John Wheelright, Joseph Taylor, and Thomas Cole conceived the project of building one or two saw-mills at Great Falls, on the Mousam river, and obtained a grant for that purpose. This privilege, though one of the best in the Province, hitherto, had been too far in the depths of the wilderness to attract the notice of settlers. No roads had yet been opened to it; the inhabitants or immigrants, generally, contented themselves



with building on the little streams nearer the settlement. It would not seem probable that John Wheelright, when he applied for the grant, could have contemplated the immediate erection of mills. The grantees were to pay eight pounds annually to the town, as a consideration for the privilege, though it is presumed payment was not to be demanded till the mills were in operation. No intelligent man would have attempted such an enterprise, while the public relations with the Indians were in such an uncertain condition. But the hopes of the people were very much raised by the present posture of these relations. The public records of the county had been sent to Boston for safe keeping, and the court (1693) ordered them to be returned to Fernald's Island in Kittery. At this time, also, a demand sprung up for lands, and various allotments were made. Ten acres of the marsh were granted to Nathaniel Clark; ten acres of meadow near the willow brook, to James Guttredge; ten acres of swamp land to Thomas Cole to make meadow of, near the three-mile brook on the road to Newichawannock (Berwick), one hundred acres to Joseph Crediford, on Kennebunk river, fifty acres to Moses Littlefield, in the Gore, on the road going to Maryland; to Left. Jeremiah Storer one hundred acres on the north side of the Branch river below the path going to Mousam, and to David Littlefield, Samuel Hatch, and William Frost the upper falls on Little river, to build a mill.

To induce Wheelright to proceed in the erection of the mills at Great Falls, the general court, in 1695, enlarged or added to his privileges, by giving him liberty to take logs wherever he should find them. But the hopes which had been indulged were not realized; all the attempts to bring the Indians to a lasting peace were unavailing. They entered into a treaty in 1693, but the influence of the French prevented it from having any effect. Though wearied and made wretched by the war, they were excited to new aggressions on the settlers, and were soon again carrying on their work of desolation and death. We presume, therefore, that none of these grants were secured by possession and improvement, agreeably to their terms. Two or three years more passed away; the hopes of the return of peace had not been entirely blighted by the renewal of hostilities. By a merciful ordination of a wise Providence, there are men, who, under the darkest clouds of adversity, can see indications of brighter days. The spirit of improvement and enterprise was not entirely crushed. In 1695 a grant was made to Samuel Wheelright, Jonathan





Hammond, Eliab Littlefield, and John Batland, to build a saw-mill on the falls next below that of Littlefield, Hatch, and Frost, on Little river. The mill of the latter, we have no reason to suppose, had yet been built; but hopes of peace were still deferred, and the aspect of affairs discouraged all further attempts looking to the extension of the settlement. No other grants were made till 1698, when the drooping spirits of the people were once more excited to new activities. The wearied savage was ready to abandon the conflict. Joseph Littlefield now took a grant of ten acres of fresh meadow; and in the next year (1699) peace once more returned to the waiting hearts of the people; and many of them looked to the lands, as the only means of recovery from the losses incurred during the long conflict. A grant of one hundred acres was made to William Vinney on the north-east side of Henry Bates'. Ten acres of meadow were granted Joseph Taylor on the Mousam river; one hundred acres to Thomas Boston, jr.; one hundred acres to James Boston, adjoining; and to Samuel Stewart one hundred acres joining James Boston (these three lots were a mile in length, and were in Maryland, at the head of the original lots below); one hundred acres to Left. Joseph Storer, by the lower salt water falls on the Kennebunk river, with privilege of falls to build a saw-mill, for which he was to pay £4 annually; fifty acres to James Adams, at the head of "the outer lots," on the road leading to Maryland; one hundred acres to James Wakefield on Kennebunk river (at the landing); one hundred acres to William Frost and Samuel Hatch, at the head of the lots first laid out, which extended w. n. w. two and a half miles; one hundred acres to Samuel Hill next above Nicholas Cole, leaving four rods for a highway; one hundred acres to Henry Slates at Maryland, bounding on the road at the head of the first-made grants; to John Cutts the one hundred acres granted to John Rhodes in 1666; one hundred acres to Alexander McMillan, on the west of James Adams' land, on the road going to Maryland; one hundred acres to Nicholas Cole, next above Joseph Storer, on Kennebunk river; this location was above the Edmund Littlefield mill lot; fifty acres to Nathaniel Clark, between the branches of Little river; fifty acres to James Denmark, between Three Mile brook and Four Mile brook, on west side of Samuel Hatch's land; fifty acres to John Harmon, between Webhannet and Ogunquit river, on the king's highway. John Wheelright was also





authorized to cut "30 or 40 pine trees annually" on the common. The town also voted "That the Proprietors have free liberty to cut and haul away any sort of timber upon any land that is now belonging to the town commons, notwithstanding it be given out in lots to particular persons, and it shall forever hereafter be free for the use of said town and proprietors of the common." This vote is not readily understood. If any part of the common had been granted to "particular persons," it would seem to be somewhat of an assumption on the part of the town, to authorize any, or all the inhabitants, to enter upon it and cut the growth at liberty. We are inclined to the opinion, that the exercise of such a liberty might meet with some obstruction on the part of the grantee, and find little favor in the courts. In 1700 a grant of one hundred acres was made to Joseph Taylor, between the Branch and Little rivers, above the path going to Mousam; ten acres were granted to Josiah Winn, at Maryland, and ten acres of meadow to Joseph Hill, which were formerly granted to his uncle, John Cross.

We have been thus particular in the detail of these grants, that our readers might learn the progress of the settlement in the various parts of the town. That portion, which has since borne the name of Alewife, and which, undoubtedly, was the most valuable for agricultural purposes, was entirely neglected. Confidence was not fully established in the minds of the people, that savage warfare was at an end. They looked forward with anxiety and distrust; and therefore attempted to secure themselves in such possessions only, as would answer the immediate purposes of life. The war, for the present, was at an end, and the people took what advantage of the peace they safely could.

It is impossible now to search out the history of the town in all its branches, with the assurance of perfect accuracy in its details, in consequence of the failure of the records to give the light which might reasonably be expected from that source. We have stated before, that a volume was lost by the burning of the house of Joseph Bolles, the town clerk, in 1657. This volume was probably small, as only four years had elapsed since the incorporation. But it probably contained many grants of land, of which no record can now be found. The subsequent records, we suppose, have come down to us in full, as they were made. But all along through this century, they are so



defective as to have but little claim to the name of town records. The first volume contains no record of a meeting for the choice of town officers till 1669, a period of fifteen years. Then follow, though scattered about wherever the clerk happened to open his book, records of the meetings of 1670, 1671, 1674, 1685, and 1694, and the years following to 1700. In 1674, the town perceiving that the insufficiency of the records was producing confusion and trouble, passed the following vote: "Whereas it doeth Appeare y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> are severill defects and our Slightisins y<sup>e</sup> entry of many the proprietyes and grants of y<sup>e</sup> lands in our town books by Reason whereof, here hereafter If not prevented Severill inconveances may arise to future disturbances Amongst us, upon which Consideration it is hereby ordered that Mr. Bolles, Goodman, Hammonds, Left. Littlefield, Samuel Wheelright, who are hereby Appointed and empowered to take Some Speedy and effectual Corse to agree with sune most essential or behalf to maters Sutch things as they Judge needful into a new book, which they are to proceed and to rectify such things as they shall find to be amiss according to y<sup>e</sup> last Divisions."

This record was made by Judge Wheelright. We have not attempted to translate it. But one would think from the reading of it, that there was not much prospect of an improvement while the office of clerk was in his hands. As long as Bolles was clerk, the townsmen had no right to expect carefulness in their records. Sufficient explanation of his errors is to be found in the proceedings of the court. "Monday, July 1, 1661, Mr. Bolles finēd ten shillings for being drunk." Again, "July 7, 1674. We present Mr. Bolles, sen., for being drunk." If such men are invested by the public with responsibilities, the public must reap the fruits of their folly. There is no evidence that any new book was obtained. The records appear to go on as they did previously. No regularity in the order of time is manifest, and the errors and omissions are very much of a character with those under the previous administration. There is no record of the election of any town officers, for ten years after Wheelright was chosen.

It will be perceived from the foregoing that we are obliged to rely very much on extraneous evidence, in gathering up the history of this early period. But we have found various sources to which we resort for the purposes of this work, and we think it will not be





found materially erroneous. In a preceding chapter we have narrated the progress of the town to the year 1688, about the time of the commencement of the second Indian war. In this year, and those following, to the termination of the war, it would seem to be hardly necessary to speak of town affairs, excepting so far as they related to the terrible conflict in which the people were involved. There could be little opportunity for municipal action about anything else. Still, there appears to have been some enterprise in the way of extending the settlement and its business. In 1688, William Sayer presented the following petition to Gov. Andros: "To Sir Edmund Andros, Capt. Gen'l and Governor in and over His Majesties territory and dominion of New England in America. The humble petition of William Sayer, of Wells, in the province of Maine, sheweth,—That there being vacant lands at and near the further branch of a river in said town of Wells called Little river, very convenient to set on and accommodate a fulling mill, which is much wanting by the inhabitants far and near of said place as well as other places thereabouts, and that it will be much for the benefit of said place to have a fulling mill built on said river, is by the selectmen's certificate of said town inserted, as well as other things therein contained." He thence prayed to have a grant of one hundred and fifty acres and the benefit of the stream. This petition we believe was granted, though we do not comprehend the necessity of applying to this authority for the grant. The town had the entire control of all its mill-sites. This mill, if built at all, was built near the house of James Gillpatrick. The war and the revolution, or rebellion against Gov. Andros, may have precluded any attempt to build it at this time. The dam was erected, but the aspect of public affairs may have induced Sayer to abandon his work. At this time there seems to have been a general expectation that Harrisecket was to become a place of considerable business. The people were taking up lands between the two rivers very freely. Every little fall on Little river was asked for. The path going to Mousam was thought likely to continue as the highway to that place. This same hope was cherished by some living on the path more than a hundred years afterward. One owner of a dwelling house and lot, standing at the junction of the branch road and the road leading by Samuel Storer's, advertised his situation as a grand site for a public house.



Died in 1700, SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT, son of Rev. John Wheelright. He was one of the prominent men of the day in which he lived, having very early been called to public life. We must infer from this fact, that he was endowed with an intellect superior to that of the generality of men. He came over to New England when an infant; and to Wells, when but six or seven years of age. Here he had no opportunity of attending school. The family moved to Hampton in 1645; afterwards, to Salisbury. The means for education in either of those places, must have been very limited; so that his intellectual culture, whatever it was, was acquired from the instructions of his father. He probably came to Wells after he arrived at maturity, his father deeding to him one-half of his farm. When only thirty years old, he was clerk of the writs and town clerk. These two offices appear to have been united into one, both in Maine and Massachusetts. He was town clerk twenty-nine years. In 1665, he was appointed lieutenant of the militia. But he does not seem to have been efficient as a military man, being much better fitted for civil life. In 1666, he was appointed Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He was chosen County Treasurer in 1674, but declined taking that office; in 1676 he was again chosen by the people, and accepted the situation. In 1677, he was the representative of York and Wells. In 1681, he was appointed by the king one of the Provincial Council. In 1695, Judge of the Court of Probate, and by William and Mary a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. So that from the time he came to Wells till his death, he was continually in the public service. We judge from this fact, that he was a highly useful and popular man. The era was not remarkable for its refined christian civilization. At the present day he would not be regarded, in New England, as endowed with those tender and delicate sensibilities which should animate every one who is true to the race. Punishments were ordered by him which would be revolting to the judge of the nineteenth century. An unfortunate female had been guilty of a misdemeanor, for which, by others of the Court, she was ordered to have stripes on the naked back, and he was appointed to see the order executed. We could not have a very exalted opinion of one who could with complacency even, witness such a scene as this, and more especially of one who could have any agency in such a desecration of humanity. We should think him a long way from the kingdom of heaven. Neither should we regard a man of common educa-





cation as faithful to his marital obligations, who was so indifferent to his wife's position and standing, as not to teach her to write her own name. But evidently, as will be seen from other parts of this history, females at that time were estimated by a very different standard from that which prevails in social life at the present day; and his character is to be judged in the light which he then enjoyed.

From Samuel Wheelright have descended all of that name who have since dwelt in Wells. He left four children, <sup>2</sup>John, Joseph, Mary, and Hannah. The first two head the two branches of the family.

<sup>2</sup>John married Mary Snell Jan. 28, 1689, and had the following children: <sup>3</sup>John, Samuel, Hannah, Esther, Jeremiah, Elizabeth, Mary, Nathaniel, Sarah, Job, and Lydia.

In 1702 died WILLIAM HAMMOND. This name was written in England, Hamans. It has been spelled in various ways since introduced into this country; as Haman, Hamans, \*Harmon, Hannor, Hammond. He was born in England in 1597; came over to New England about 1630, and was made a freeman at Boston in 1636. When he first arrived here he made the mistake, which was very common at that period, of imbibing too freely of intoxicating beverages, so that in 1632, at the court in September, he was "ordered to sit in the bilboes for being drunk." But probably this mistake became a useful lesson to him. His wife's name was Benedictus, signifying that she was a blessing to somebody, most likely in this case to her parents or future husband. He came to Wells two or three years before the town was incorporated, and signed the submission to Massachusetts in 1653. His life here indicated that some good influences had had their proper effect on him. He became a useful man, and was regarded as so sound in his moral and religious principles that while the church was without a minister, in 1661, he was ordered, with Ezekiel Knight, as related on another page, to attend the place of public worship on the Lord's day, and improve his best abilities in speaking out of the Word of God, singing psalms, and

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\*I have recently received a letter from G. M. Bodge, Esq., who is preparing a genealogy of the Harmon family, in which he says, "I have discovered that the Harmon and Hammond families are as utterly distinct as are the Smiths and Joneses. I think that in an interview with Judge Bourne I convinced him of this fact." This portion of the history was probably written some years before the interview referred to, and there may be error in the statement that "the name has been spelled in various ways," etc.—E. E. B., JR.





reading some good orthodox sermons. In 1653, he was appointed a commissioner for Wells, for "trying small causes," and again was elected by the people in 1658, '62, '63, '64, and '70. In 1660, he was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise, in which work he had new evidence of the danger of being too free in the use of intoxicating liquors. In 1661, he was chosen constable, then regarded as a very important office. For the accommodation of travelers, many in that day were licensed to sell spirit, wine, beer, etc., and none were entrusted with that authority but temperate, substantial men. His life was protracted beyond the years of any one that has lived in Wells. He dropped dead in the road in 1702, being then 105 years of age, and having lived in three centuries.

He left two sons, Jonathan and Joseph. The latter died in 1709, aged 62, leaving a son, Joseph, born in 1676, and two daughters. This Joseph moved to Kittery, and had Joseph, George, John, and Jonathan, and three daughters. This Joseph<sup>3</sup> had Joseph, John, and Elisha, and perhaps other children. Joseph the first was one of the councilors for the province of Maine, and was appointed judge of probate after the death of Judge Wheelright in 1700, and held that office till 1710. He was also register from 1695 to 1700, and clerk of the courts and register of deeds from 1699 to 1721. His wife was Hannah Storer, whom he married in 1709.

Jonathan, the first son of William, was appointed sergeant in 1694, and lieutenant in 1703 and 1709. He was killed by the Indians and scalped in Queen Ann's war, near Jonathan Littlefield's garrison. This family were so indifferent to their genealogical record that we have no means of tracing it.

NOTE.—James Littlefield, referred to in Roger Hill's letter, page 201, was the son of Francis Littlefield, sen., and William Frost was a shoemaker, though also engaged in milling; but before the commencement of the war had sold out his land and mills for a very low sum, and, we suppose, left the town, from the apprehensions of a new Indian war. The town, however, two or three years afterwards, made him a new grant of fifty acres, on the east of Little river. He and Nathaniel might have been here at the time, away from the garrisons, and the enemy came suddenly upon them before they were aware of the murders which had been committed in the neighboring towns.



## CHAPTER XVI.

## SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS—THEIR HOUSES AND FURNITURE.

OUR knowledge of early colonial life in Maine has been exceedingly limited; not because of the insufficiency of record evidence, but from the neglect of careful examination and inquiry into its import. When we speak of records or record testimony in this work, we do not use those terms in their strictly legitimate sense, but as comprehending letters, deeds, contracts and contemporary writings of every kind, together with books, newspapers and other publications, claiming to give account of facts which had been of recent occurrence.

We have been accustomed to hear much of the Puritans, and our impressions have been that they were a generation of men of high moral impulses, of true nobility of soul; and those who have held them in reverence, have been so much in the habit of contrasting them with the race at the present period, in many of their most important relations, and awarding to them a marked superiority, that we have been imbued with the conception that their example was worthy of all imitation; and that the prominent attributes of their social life were such as ought to commend them to the age in which we live. But while puritanism, where existing, presented many worthy elements of character, we are to remember there was very little of it in Maine. Those who first located themselves here, were not refugees from any religious intolerance. They left England not for the enjoyment of religious liberty, but rather from those motives which impel men to any undertaking which may lead to pecuniary acquisition. Few of us had Puritan fathers. The first settlers of Maine, so far as religion was with them a matter of any consideration, felt themselves at home in the bosom of the English Church. John Wheelright had his peculiarities; but we are not aware that there is any evidence that he had renounced his loyalty to that in-





stitution. The main body of the planters in Wells, were men to whom religious speculations were matters of little moment. Many of us are descendants of adventurers, all whose thoughts were absorbed in the acquisition of the necessities of life, and who were subject to a large share of the same infirmities which now show themselves in every social community.

It does not become the honest historian to attempt to smooth over, or keep out of sight the frailties of those of whose lives he claims to give an authentic account, and having this view, we shall endeavor to relate things truly; to record the defects as well as virtues of those who had the principal agency in making the history, which, at best, we can only very imperfectly record. We cannot hold up our ancestors as models in all things for the present generation. There were among them men of irreproachable morals and sound piety; men who kept alive and inviolate within them that firm moral sense, which always suggested their high responsibilities, and led them to a faithful discharge of their obligations. But there was also a class, we think, equally large, whose ambition extended no further than to minister to personal gratification, using the world as they went along merely as an agency to that end; and in that subserviency hesitating not to disregard law, both moral and civil. The material life only presented any attractions to them. From this commingling of good and bad men, a society was made up, which as a whole, had not much to recommend it to their successors of the present age. Still, while we cannot thus commend it to our readers for imitation, there existed in it many elements worthy the sympathy and admiration of those of the present age. The first century of the town's history presents much that must awaken the reverence of every true citizen. The settlers, and their descendants of the generation following, were subjected to numberless ills which would be unendurable to us were we now, by a sudden decree of the overruling Providence, subjected to them. They came here, most of them moneyless, and sat themselves down in the wilderness with only their physical powers to provide for their support. Early and late frosts, droughts and unpropitious seasons, in all ages of the world, have frequently defeated the hopes of the industrious and hard-laboring husbandman; and other agencies and influences have occasionally cut short his crops. So it was with the first inhabitants of Wells. Heaven did not always smile on their exertions. But here as elsewhere, some



prospered in their agricultural pursuits, while the expectations of others were frequently disappointed, and as a natural consequence, the distinctions of social life soon began to be manifested. The rich and the poor were to be seen on the plantations. This diversity was followed by its usual results. The ill success of the poor and the deprivations to which they were subjected, soon engendered disquiet, envy and ill nature, and led to those indulgencies to which human nature has too frequent recourse, when discouragements and trouble come over the soul. The intoxicating cup sent its poison over all the sensibilities of men. There were many drunkards, and, thence many of those sorrowful abodes, where poverty and iniquity held undisturbed sway.

In thus connecting poverty and sin together, we would not have it understood that the two are necessarily companions, or that crime is an emanation of poverty more than of riches. We mean to say that poverty which comes from intemperance, is almost always attended with other moral evils. But, we think it may be truly said, in extenuation of the guilt of intemperance, that the offenses of which it is the principal cause, are not generally those which are such *per se*, or in themselves criminal, but such as are made so by civil enactment. Thus, in the days of which we are speaking there were seldom any larcenies, robberies, burglaries, assaults and batteries or murders. The prevalent violations of law were not such as to manifest intended injury to others, but only such as were the product of unrestrained passion; profanity, slander, incontinency, conjugal infidelity. In many cases the inebriate is endowed with a gentle, kindly temperament, and although the tongue may be set on fire by the maddening drink, he has no impulse to inflict personal violence upon those by whom he is surrounded. But there are also men of bad temper who, when sober, can keep it in reasonable subjection, but when instigated by intoxicating liquor, are ready for any crime against society.

The sins which destroyed the harmony and peace of the ancient towns in this neighborhood, were those which we should class as misdemeanors, or offenses against good order and social life. In this view, the state of society in Wells was not such as would now captivate those who are ordinarily punctilious in their associations. Slander, tale-bearing, crimination, neglect of the Sabbath, unchastity, infidelity to the marriage vows, prevailed to a very great degree.





There were twenty-five families in Wells at the time of its incorporation in 1653, and more than half of that number of the men were presented or indicted by the grand jury for various offenses. All seemed inclined to take advantage of the failings of their neighbors, and subject them to prosecution for their offenses. What we in this age would pass by as matters of trivial import, or as slight departures from the proprieties of life, were magnified into offenses against law and worthy of judicial cognizance. The courts also fell in with this prevalent propensity of the people. They made matters criminal without the aid of statute or common law. That charity which is kind and thinketh no evil, seems to have found no place in the mind of high or low, rich or poor. But very few failed to come in for a share of the evils growing out of this debased state of public sentiment. The rich were frequently the complainants for offenses against the poor, and, of course, they frequently met with some return from those who felt themselves injured by the procedure. Even the best of the families became involved in the continual jars. The social atmosphere was corrupted, and all were obliged to suffer from it. Members of the court were not unfrequently subjected to the indignity of criminal process for their frailties and indiscretions.

This state of society was in a great measure the creation of ignorance, naturally growing out of the deficiencies of education of the majority of the people. But a great proportion of it had its origin in the ignorance of the courts. Most of these officials, as we have before stated, were uneducated men, endowed with barely a modicum of common sense, and still less of the wise comprehension of a wise civil policy. They did not philosophise or look at results. Their attention was confined to the subject of immediate action, and they did not extend their views to the effects which might follow their doings. They had the criminal or his offense alone in view, and perhaps thought little of the effect of the punishment. Their powers, whether vested in them by law or assumed, were almost unlimited, as far as respected crimes and their punishment. For offenses of the most trivial character, they oftentimes prescribed the most odious punishments which at the moment presented themselves to their minds. What more degrading to a female than to be required "to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath days, and one day at the general court?" or "to have forty stripes, save one, on her naked skin, in-





flicted by the jailor in presence of the court and of the public?" or to stand at a town meeting in York, or a town meeting in Kittery, with her offense written in capital letters on her forehead?" or "to stand with a gag in her mouth half an hour at a public town meeting?" What greater outrage on humanity and more destructive of that self-respect which God has planted in the soul of man to preserve him from moral ruin, than to order him "at the head of a military company, to have twenty-five stripes on his naked back, and have his neck and heels tied together for a full hour?" or what more corrupting to the people, than that one in a public meeting for religious worship on the Lord's day, should rise in the midst of the assembly, repeat the words of the vulgar and obscene slander which he had uttered, followed with the confession that it was false?

There is no quality of the spirit more indispensable to a high tone of morals, and more necessary for the well-being and salutary progress of society, than that of shame. It is one of the grand defenses with which God has furnished man to protect him from the temptations which beset the path of life. This consciousness of the degradation which unchastity or iniquity of any kind brings to one's character, cannot be too highly prized by those who would be conservators of the peace and good order in social and civil life. And yet the punishment in a great many of the cases submitted to the action of the court, were of a character fitted completely to subdue this most needed attribute of the soul. When this conservative element of human nature is thus extinguished, selfishness and passion usurp the entire control of life. A man or woman without shame will be the pest of any community.

Such proceedings as we have referred to have the sure tendency of driving all modesty from the intercourse of life, and reducing civilization almost to a level with barbarism. These unfortunates had their friends; and in the view of such exhibitions as have been stated, how could any community be expected to dwell together in harmony and mutual good will? Strife, back-biting, hatred, and every evil work would inevitably ensue. Profanity, drunkenness, and other immoralities would abound.

This state of social life, we have said, had its origin, in a great degree, in the judicial administration of the day. But there was one other cause from which it derived no small portion of its strength. The scantiness and entire insufficiency of household accommoda-



tions could not fail to bring very efficient aid to the work of demoralization. The settlers came over the water expecting to fix their abode in the wilderness, and to shelter themselves and families in such tenements as could be erected the most speedily, and consequently brought with them little or no furniture. Those who came to Wells found themselves far from any mart where it could be obtained. The communication with Boston and Salem was so imperfect as to afford no facilities for transportation. Beside, feeling themselves to be mere pioneers, with no assurance of a permanent home here, they went on from year to year with as little as possible to encumber them, in case of their removal. They were away from the busy haunts of life, and therefore thought but little of the proprieties of society. Their houses had but one or two rooms. Many of their families were large. They were necessarily so commingled that the privacies of life must be disregarded. For many years, and perhaps till the close of the seventeenth century, they had, as a general rule, but one bed, and even those of the largest means but two. Under these circumstances, how could it be expected that a sound morality could have been maintained? What chance was there for advancing and sustaining a refined culture? Children must surely have grown up with very little respect for that decorum which we are accustomed to regard as essential to all good society. The delicacies which now have such a beneficent influence in the intercourse of even domestic life could not be nurtured in such an uncongenial condition. Purity of heart and conversation we could not expect to find among a people thus cramped in their action.

Let us look into one of these houses. We enter the kitchen, which is also the sitting room and parlor. In looking around, we discover a table, a pewter pot, a hanger, a little mortar, a dripping pan, and a skillet; no crockery, tin, or glass ware; no knives, forks, or spoons; not a chair to sit in. The house contains but two other rooms, in each of which we find but one bed, a blanket and a chest. We have been through the house. They have nothing further to show us here. And this is the house of Edmund Littlefield, the richest man in the town. When he first came to Wells he had a family of six children still to be educated under his roof. Francis had cut himself off from his father's care and protection; one or two others had arrived at maturity, but were yet in the family. Elizabeth, John, Thomas, Mary, Hannah, and Francis, junior, between the ages of six and





twenty, were abiding with the father; as we do not know precisely what furniture they had in the first years of their settlement here, we adopt that of a later period, confident that the former must have been less than the latter.

Let us now visit the house of Ensign John Barret, an officer of no small note in those days. Here we find more of the luxuries incident to official station. We find *two* beds and bedding, *two* chests and a box, four pewter dishes, four earthen pots, two iron pots, seven trays, two pails, some wooden ware, a skillet, and a frying pan. We have taken his inventory of household furniture. We will pass on to the home of another of the elite of society.

Casting our eyes round the house, we see a kettle, a pot and pot hooks, a pair of tongs, a pail, and a pitcher; and in the chamber, a bed and bedding, and some trifling articles, worth about fifty cents. And this is the house of Nicholas Cole, one of the selectmen—for many years the surveyor of town lands, constable, and acting in various public offices.

Now, the first enquiry suggested by this visit to the habitations of these men, would be, how could the families live so? How could they eat? how could they sleep? how could they keep themselves in a condition fit to be seen? The Indian in his wigwam, had about as many appliances for cooking, eating, and sleeping, as had these representatives of civilized society. They had their skins or furs to sleep on, their birchen or stone dishes, and other utensils to hold their food; wooden forks, or their fingers, to eat with; and the ground for their table. Surely the civilization of the settlement must have been of a low order; presenting little to boast of in its outward aspect. How could the virtues and graces of christianity grow under such disadvantages? There was no emulation for excellence, for all were alike in their domestic possessions. How could personal neatness be maintained? Probably most of the children never saw a looking-glass; they never had a vision of their own faces, except in pails of water, darkly. They might, as we suppose they did, wash comfortably in the sea, in the milder season; but in cold weather they do not seem to have had any conveniences for that purpose. Their morning ablutions were probably few and far between; so that, we must infer, that the earthly tenement was but little cared for.

But how about the hours of night? We have not much to say



of these families after the pitch-knot had ceased to send out its cheering rays. There is no way in which we could obtain a vision of parents and children after the night-watches commenced. We may well suppose that the heads of the household occupied the one bed; how the boys and girls were disposed of, we must leave to the imagination of the reader; we feel, however, safe in the conclusion, that their accommodations were not such as to consist with the growth of a sound morality.

As to their utensils for eating we are also without any satisfactory knowledge. The clam-shell held in a split stick probably made a convenient spoon; the fingers may have done the work of the fork; but how was their meat to be cut? No wooden instrument would answer that purpose. They consumed an immense amount of pork, which required the use of the carving knife. But no knives were found in any house.

As to the *modus operandi* in taking their food, after it was on the table, we have no knowledge; we have been unable to find any instruments for the purpose. They may have adopted the habits and customs of the Indians. A great many in those days, and in years subsequent, became strongly attached to, and adopted the Indian mode of life; and were unwilling to renounce it for the habitude and customs of civilization. Under the influence of its charms, several of those who were taken captives from Wells in the terrible wars which brought desolation to so many families, forgot their relations, and continued their habitation with their savage captors through life. The houses of the settlers did not afford much better shelter than the wigwams of the Indians. They were merely log huts; and were sold for very small sums. Perhaps some of them were constructed in the style of the Indian tenement. Cups and saucers were not then required; coffee and tea had not come into use; they were unknown in Wells. The natural spring afforded the only beverage used at their meals, excepting spruce beer, which we suppose was generally taken at dinner. Their cookery must have been of the plainest character; they had no materials for condiments, and no vessels for variety in the preparation of edibles for the table. An iron pot was the one grand article for household equipment. We cannot but be amused, as well as surprised, at the high estimate set upon this article. Such a legacy in a will was regarded as a great benefaction. It was indispensable to the housewife's operations. Beside their maize,





the annual product of every family, and their meats, and fish, which were very abundant, and easily attainable, they had but little for food. Among the settlers we have been able to discover but a single churn. Cows were very soon introduced, and were, before the century closed, owned in large numbers. We think they made no butter; if they did, the fact would appear among some of the relics of this period. The milk was converted into cheese, or consumed in its natural state.

Though our predecessors were poor, they do not seem to have made so much of life as they ought. They submitted to deprivations and inconveniences not demanded by their condition. One would suppose, when the wild fowl were so abundant that they might almost be taken without leaving their doors, that they would have provided themselves with beds enough, and of the best quality. But they do not appear to have taken advantage of their opportunities. A very common bed was made of cat-tails, or cat-o'-nine tails, as they have been termed in later years. Straw or hay even, would have better subserved the purpose of rest. The sweet restorer would more readily have come to the latter than to the former. We do not know that either of these was ever enclosed in a tick. The children and those of a larger growth, may have thrown themselves down upon one of them for the night. Laboring as the pioneers did from early morn to late at night, any place of rest would have been acceptable to their wearied limbs.

Our observations are not confined to the first decade, from the commencement of the settlement only, but to nearly the whole period previous to 1700. Scarcely anything of the nature of betterments was added to the household furniture till after the close of the third Indian war. The same indifference to personal comforts and conveniences prevailed in nearly all their houses. One would suppose that some of them would have had the ambition to provide for themselves chairs, looking-glasses or carpets. But none of these articles were found in their dwellings, excepting in that of Joseph Cross, who lived on the east side of Ogunquit river, and died in 1684. He being in very comfortable pecuniary circumstances, had a looking-glass and a carpet, but no chairs.





## CHAPTER XVII.

QUEEN ANN'S WAR—LETTER OF JOHN WHEELRIGHT TO THE GOVERNOR—ATTACK UPON WELLS—ESCAPE OF HARDING AND WIFE—BRIEF ACCOUNTS OF THE VICTIMS OF THE ASSAULT—PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS TO THE GENERAL COURT FOR ABATEMENT OF TAX—INDIANS SEEN ON DRAKE'S ISLAND—THEIR INGENIOUS DEVICE FOR ESCAPE—DEATH OF NICHOLAS COLE AND OTHERS—LEWIS ALLEN, THE SPY—TIDINGS FROM THE CAPTIVES IN CANADA—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—ATTACK UPON KITTERY, YORK, AND WELLS.

THE blessings of peace, for which the people had so long yearned in the midst of their distresses, were of but short continuance. They had returned to their farms, rebuilt the waste places, and were beginning to enjoy the genial influences of rural freedom. Confined, as they had been, for ten anxious years to a very limited domain, seldom assured of safety when away from the curtilage, they were now entering with renewed zeal upon their agricultural labors. It seemed as it were a new birth into the world. They had, in this restraint, accustomed themselves to very scanty supplies for their bodily wants, and therefore were little troubled on account of deprivations, which would be almost unendurable in the present age. They went to work with a will, with the assurance that in a few years the earth would abundantly bless them with its fruits. But France and England were again involved in war, and the Catholic priests availed themselves of another opportunity for inspiring the savage heart with the bitterest enmity against the settlers, and urging them on to those deeds of cruelty and desolation which had marked their path during the former wars.

Governor Dudley in 1702 had been at the eastward, and by the artful professions of the Sagamores, had his fears in some degree allayed. But the duplicity and deceitfulness of the savage heart were not so well understood by him as by some of the townsmen of Wells, who had long been conversant with the Indian character.



John Wheelright, whose well-grounded suspicions could never be allayed by any protestations of friendship on the part of the wily foe, addressed to the governor the following letter:

WELLS, Aug. 4, 1702.

May it Please your Excellency.

At my hearing of your Excellencys Returne from Eastward to Piscataqua the Last Week, I immediately went thither, to waite on youre self theire, but your quiet despatche from thence Prevented me of that oportunity, which mackes me bould to give your Excellency the trouble of these lines. Sr: I understand that the Indians at the Eastward Vearey Redily Professed Great fidelity to yourself and the English nation, with Great Promis of Peace and friendship, which Promises So Long as it may stand with their own interest, I believe they may keep and no Longer, their teachers Instructing them that there is no faith to be kept with Hereticks sutch as they account us to be, themselves also being naturialey deseaitful Like their Father hom they serve. Indeed, Sir: I Cannot have Charity for them to believe what they say, I haveing Experienced so much of their horable deseaitfullness in the Last war upon many treaties and articles of Peace, so that I cannot but apprehend ourselves that live in these remote Parts of the countrey and being fronteres but to be in Great dainger, and considering that war was Proclaimed with the french, who are not so far from us but that they may without any great difualty send out an army against us, eaither with or without the assistance of our pretended frend Indians. This towne being the nearest to the enemy and the farthest from any help or Relief, we cannot but apprehend ourselves to be in Great dainger, and espesially at this season of the yeare, our occasions Calling us genirely from hom to get our hay and Corne Secured, our inhabitants doth theirfore Pray, that your Excellency would assist us with sum men, twentie or thirtie, or so many as your Excellency in Wisdom may think fit; my humble Request to your Excellency when at Saco was that you would please to Grant me the Liberty of a Garrison where I now live, which then your Excellency did not resolve. I still Pray for the same with submission, and desire youre Excellenes Resolution in that mater, to which I shall Reddily Submit with onely Informing youre Excellency that if I must remove into the middle of the town I must Leave that Little Estate I have to

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME  
BY  
JOHN HUTCHINGS  
OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW  
IN THE COURT OF COMMONS  
IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND  
OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW  
IN THE COURT OF COMMONS  
IN GREAT BRITAIN  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
THE FIRST VOLUME  
CONTAINING THE HISTORY  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE YEAR 1700  
LONDON  
PRINTED BY J. DODD, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD  
1734



maintain my family with, and Carey a Large family where I have but little to maintain them withall. Praying your Excellencies Pardon for these rude lines, I remaine ever to be your Excellencies most humble servant at all Comands. JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

To

His Exelency Joseph Dudley Esq.  
Captain General and Govenour  
in Chief and over the  
Province of the Masethusets  
Bay in New England &c.

He was not mistaken in the view which he took of the aspect of our relations with the tribes. So well satisfied was he with the fact that the people were in imminent danger, that he felt the importance of immediate preparation to meet the exigencies of savage warfare. He asked for liberty to build a garrison house. Why it was necessary to obtain liberty of the government for this purpose, is not readily answered. Every man, surely, must have had the right of self-protection. But so it was. A license must be first obtained. The request does not seem to have been readily complied with. It may be that application was made for a garrison to be erected by the government. As all their fortifications were designed as places of refuge for the people, it is most probable that Wheelright asked for assistance in the work. After some delay permission to build was granted.

The war began on the tenth day of August of the next year, a large force having been gathered under the direction of French officers. These were divided into six or seven parties, with the intention of attacking all the principal settlements at the same time. Upon Wells especially was their fury to be vented. It had successfully baffled all their attacks in the previous wars; but at this time the people were not in position to make any efficient defense, and they felt that their cruel foe would be appeased only by the complete destruction of the town. Fearful indeed was the prospect before the inhabitants, but it was too late to make any efficient defense. The enemy sallied forth from their ambuscades, and killed or carried away thirty-nine of the inhabitants. The horrors of that day cannot be depicted. Families were broken up. Husbands, wives, or children were taken from the home circle. Almost every



one had lost a friend dear to his heart. Many were wounded, barely escaping death or captivity. Valuable citizens, on whom reliance was placed for protection and support in this terrible crisis, were either killed or carried away, exposed to the relentless cruelty of the savage enemy. Much time must elapse, days and nights of anguish pass, before anything could be learned of the fate of the captives.

Histories of the past have merely reiterated the fact that these thirty-nine persons were killed or carried into captivity. No detailed account of the individuals thus falling is anywhere recorded. It is strange that no inhabitant of the town should have made a memorandum of the particulars of this terrible affliction; the names of the persons killed, the wounded, and the captives; the dwelling houses and other buildings burnt, or some general statement of the extent of the devastation. The town records make no allusion to any assault on the tenth of August.

We have devoted a great deal of time among the archives of the county, and availed ourselves of every other means of knowledge in our endeavor to meet this failure. The following is the result of our researches:

The enemy first attacked the house of Thomas Wells, who lived where John L. Wells now lives. His wife had just been confined, and he was gone for a nurse. The Indians entered, killed the mother and infant, and the two other children, Sarah, aged four, and Joshua, aged two years, and then burnt the house. At the same time they murdered Joseph Sayer and all his family, consisting of his wife and two or three children. It is said they first compelled him to assist in grinding the hatchet which they used in their direful work. No enormity on the part of these savages is too great to affect the credibility of the story of their doings. Sayer's house was near that of Wells, and was also burnt.

We have spoken of the house of Stephen Harding, situated near the Kennebunk river, between Gooch's creek and the Pier. There is no spot in Wells, unless we except that of Storer's garrison and its immediate vicinage, which suggests to the antiquarian more interesting memories than this. As it was called "Harding's" so many years, we embrace under that designation previous and subsequent owners or occupants. We are not sure whether this point was previously occupied or not. Harding, or Reynolds, or James Littlefield, may have been established here many years before the war. The





commissioners for determining the boundary of the towns, met at Harding's in 1660. But where Harding's was is immaterial in the present connection. We know that about 1700 he built his house at this place for the accommodation of the public. He was a blacksmith, and we suppose a son of Israel Harding, also a blacksmith, who established himself in Wells in 1670. He was licensed to keep a house of entertainment, and to supply his patrons with those stimulants which were then regarded as material aids to the body in the discharge of its various functions. Life without such ministrations was regarded as feeble and inefficient for any substantial results. Governors, judges, ministers, generals, and lords, all alike indulged in the use of the reviving beverage. Here, all in their travels to and from the province, were accustomed to find accommodations. Harding was well fitted for the position. His kindly nature at once commended him to the stranger. He was ready to meet his wants, and in every way minister to his comfort. To make his place as attractive as possible in the exciting times of the early period of our history, he had garrisoned the house, so that while under his roof his customers might feel fully assured of their safety, and thus enjoy the desired rest. He was also a very strong man, able to resist any aggressions on his household. Near him, just over the creek, was an Indian summer residence, where there were a dozen or more wigwams. The Indians were daily in and around his house, and as familiar with his domestic and out-door arrangements and business as any other neighbors or friends living in his immediate neighborhood. His intercourse with them was always kindly, and he thereby acquired a hold on their sympathies which could with difficulty be made to give way to the entry of that malicious and revengeful spirit which would sometimes so suddenly, and without any apparent cause, take possession of their hearts. With them he loved the chase, and in the pursuit of game traveled far into the interior, sometimes, it is said, almost to the White Hills. But for what object we cannot imagine. If he killed a moose, or a bear, or any smaller animals, he could not bring them home, and we cannot understand the satisfaction of any such profitless gunning as this. But such, it is said, was his habit of wandering through the wilderness, and he thereby acquired a knowledge of all the intervening forests, and the direct routes through them to any specified point. The knowledge acquired by this roving gunning propensity, created demand for his services, and when it





was proposed to send a military force to Pigwaket to attack the Indians in that neighborhood, the Governor directed Capt. Samuel Wheelright first to secure the services of Stephen Harding as a pilot. Harding was for this reason an important man for the provinces, and consequently a valuable prize for the French. This being understood by the Indians, their previous friendly intercourse with him would avail nothing against their treachery. Beside, they were in times of war under the control of the French, and were led to believe that the English were determined to drive them from their lands which had been given to them by their great Father. Thus, Harding could never feel safe in relying upon his own kindness to them or their good will to him, as affording any guaranty for his safety in times of war.

War was declared between France and England in 1702, and the settlers feeling assured that the French would, in its prosecution, incite the Indians to renewed acts of cruelty, regarded these savage neighbors with suspicion. Harding was bold and fearless; but his wife was timorous, and looking for fearful developments of the war spirit. He was one day preparing for a gunning excursion, but she begged him to abandon it. In going toward his shop he discovered a company of men, women, and children on Oaks' Rocks. He had heard guns at the west, but supposed that the soldiers stationed at Wells were merely going through their usual exercises. This discovery, however, awakened some apprehensions that the crisis had arrived. He went back to his house and told his wife to take their infant child, and flee across the creek to an oak tree beyond, and there remain, till he had ascertained the character of these persons who were now coming toward his house. The object of this company probably was to draw the attention of Harding, while other preparations had been made to secure him when in his shop. Having thus provided for the flight of his wife, he returned, and being well acquainted with all the Indian signs, tactics, and arts, he took his axe and knocked on the side of his shop, giving at the same time the Indian war-whoop. Instantly, four Indians sprang from their hiding places and rushed to the door, thinking that they were thus sure of him as a prisoner. But he escaped by a back-way to his field of corn, in which he found his wife, who had gone but a short distance from the house, and there fainted. He seized her under one arm, and the child under the other, and escaped with his burden



across the creek, which he forded with great difficulty, it being then high water. He left them under the tree, and returned toward the house. But he had proceeded only a short distance when he met an enormous bear. It would not do to leave them exposed to this new peril, so he went back and started for Storer's garrison, nine miles distant, being obliged to take the interior route on account of three intervening rivers. At night they reached the hill where the old Jefferds tavern now stands, having traveled through the woods the whole distance, there being no house in Kennebunk but their own, and having subsisted entirely on berries gathered on the route. His dog had started with them, but as his barking would have led to their discovery, he was obliged to kill him. The next day at a late hour they reached the garrison. But all the inmates were asleep. After much difficulty and delay they succeeded in rousing some of them, and he with his wife found rest within its walls.

The Indians killed his hogs and carried off his beds, but did no other special damage; the house being left, as they said after the war was over, as a trap to catch him, when at some time after, he might return to it.

We have taken the leading facts of this tradition from Bradbury, but it must be a very imperfect account of them. Harding must have known that the Indians were away from their wigwams just over the creek. When abroad on their raids they did not have with them their wives and children, as seen on Oaks' rocks. It is hardly probable that Harding could have passed through the cornfield with his wife and child, without so moving the stocks as to make his track plain; and he could not have crossed the brook and ascended the bank on the upper side without exposing himself to their sight, and leaving his foot-prints behind him. Nevertheless, there is no doubt of the accuracy of the leading facts. In passing down through four or five generations, they may have been extended somewhat.

It was in this spot, so limited, that nearly all the business of Kennebunk was at one time done. Coasters were here from the west, taking spars, timber and boards, for several years. Passengers also availed themselves of a passage hither by water, land travel being tedious, and much of the time perilous. Here too were enacted scenes which rent many a heart. Here in 1724, occurred that terrible tragedy, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter, where the brave Wornwood, through the agonies of death, contin-





ued to fight his merciless enemies. Here, also, history alleges the crew of the Lynn sloop were massacred.

Having failed in their attempt to capture Harding, the Indians went over the river, and killed the wife and three children of William Larrabee, whose house stood near the site of the old rope-walk. Larrabee was away from his house a short distance, having concealed himself in some bushes from the sight of two or three who were searching for him. After they had given up the search, he crept toward his house until he discovered his dead wife and children. Being satisfied of the murder of all his family, he started for the Storer garrison and reached it in safety.

Samuel Hill, wife and children were among the victims of this memorable raid. His house and all his household goods were committed to the flames. He could have been married but four or five years, and it is probable that his family consisted of three or four children only. Some of these, too young to travel, were killed; others, with the father and mother, were carried into captivity. The Indians were then, in fact, fighting for the French, and the prisoners taken by them were delivered into their hands in Canada. They were thence saved from those terrible cruelties which they might have experienced in the hands of their captors. Hill seems to have had some freedom while thus in captivity. It was a singular coincidence, that his brother Ebenezer Hill, and his wife, then living at Saco, were captured at the same time, and that they were imprisoned together. Samuel had been an efficient actor in the preparations for defense, and was captain of a packet, which was employed in bringing provisions to the various ports on the coast. The loss of such a man at this time was a severe one for the people of Wells.

James Adams and all his family were also taken, and his house burned. He lived on the gore, between one and two miles above the main road and on the road to Berwick. He had but two children, so far as we can learn, one three years old and the other one. Both were too young to travel and, as we suppose, were killed.

Thomas Wilson, who lived at Maryland, near William Veney, was murdered. His family escaped.

Mary Storer, daughter of Lieut. Joseph Storer, was captured and carried to Canada. She was a young lady about eighteen years of age. Being the daughter of one of the most energetic defenders of the town, and an officer of the government, she was regarded as a



valuable prize. She became well satisfied with her condition in captivity; and by her refined and attractive deportment and personal qualities, soon ingratiated herself into the kind sympathies and acceptance of French society. In a short time she became the victor over the heart of a Frenchman, Jean St. Germaine, and was united with him in marriage. The father, after the close of the war, was unable to induce her to return. French social life had taken strong hold of her affections, and she could not be induced to abandon it for the rustic life of her early home. Her father, in his will, gave her a legacy of fifty pounds if she returned and dwelt in New England; and ten shillings only if she refused to do so. But the legacy failed to have any effect on her. She died in Montreal, Aug. 25, 1747, aged 62.

Two children of William Parsons, William, aged five years, and Samuel, aged eighteen months, were killed, and a daughter taken captive. Parsons lived between the parsonage and the house of Joseph Hill. His house was burnt. He had two other small children. With these, the father and mother escaped and went to York, where they found a home at the house of Arthur Bragdon. But on the twenty-sixth day of September, less than two months after, an assault was made on that town, and Mr. Parsons and one of the daughters captured.

The savages started with the daughter first taken, on their way to Canada. Their provisions failed, and the monsters determined to supply their needs by roasting the little girl; but while making preparations for their horrible purpose, a party of Mohawk Indians with three dogs met them. The captors proposed to exchange their captive for one of the dogs. But as it was no object to the Mohawks to take the burden of the care of the child and part with their dog, they rejected the proposition. They then offered them one of their guns, which was gladly accepted, and thus the life of the child was saved. We have no evidence as to her future. The captivity of the child was a terrible affliction to the parents. It probably hastened the death of the father, who survived but a few months. History speaks of this daughter as the child of the widow Hannah Parsons. This is attributable to the fact that the account of it was first written after the death of the father.

Mary Sayer, a daughter of Joseph Hill, and Rachel Storer, we suppose a daughter of Jeremiah, were among those carried away.





We have had no light as to their subsequent captivity, excepting that they were kindly treated after being delivered over to the French, and were several years prisoners in Canada.

Aaron Littlefield, son of Moses, was captured. He was but a small boy, seven or eight years old. We are not informed of the circumstances of the capture, excepting that he was compelled to follow the Indians to Canada. There, with the other captives, he was delivered to the French, who gave the tribes an encouraging bounty for all prisoners. One of these was regarded as specially valuable, as they supposed they should receive a large amount for his ransom. A boy was regarded, in many cases, as a more important prize than a soldier, as it was supposed that many parents would give all they had for the restoration of their child. But there was a stronger reason operating on the minds of the French than the anticipated ransom. The Jesuits were then as anxious as at the present day to bring children under the influences of Catholicism, the fascinations of which would be so readily brought to bear on the young mind. They probably made this latter the leading object of their action, rather than a large bounty for the release of the boy. He was delivered to the French at Montreal, and very soon the attractions of papacy had taken strong hold of his affections. He was sent to Quebec. The parents had no knowledge of him after his capture. In many, and perhaps most cases, small children were murdered, they being only an incumbrance on the travel of the savages. After the war was over, it was learned that Aaron was alive and dwelling near Montreal. Every exertion was made by the government to ascertain what English prisoners were living in Canada, and to induce their return home. Captain Christian Baker in 1714, discovered that Littlefield was at Quebec, and on representing the case to the governor, an order was sent for him to come to Montreal, where Baker succeeded in obtaining an agreement that he should return to Wells. The governor gave his assent, and Baker provided for all necessary clothing. Baker now went to Quebec and during his absence there one of the priests having learned the young man's intention, went to him, persuaded him to remain where he was, and took from him the clothes prepared for his journey. Baker, on his return, made known the facts to the governor, who again sent for the boy. But all arguments failed to induce him to come back to his home. The priests had made thorough work with





him, and he became a proselyte of papacy, whether by intimidation or the enchantments of Romanism, is unknown. He was afterwards baptized and changed his name to Peter. He was married and had lived in Canada many years. His father died in 1726. His mother died some years after, and in 1737 he came home to Wells to secure his portion of the estate. The other heirs objected to his claim, and were unwilling that he should have any share in it, on the ground that he had become a Catholic. Puritanism had no sympathy with Romanism. The statute even denied liberty of conscience to Catholics. He then petitioned to the court to have his share in his father's estate set off. But the heirs interposed this objection that he was a papist, and had therefore no rights which the court were bound to respect.

Testimony was introduced to maintain the defense set up, a part of which appears in the following deposition of Christian Baker, in which the reader will be as much interested in the literature of the magistrate as in the facts stated:

"The deposition of Christen Baker. All that I can say concerning Aaron Littlefield Who Whares taken by the Ingons from Calebunk in ye Province of Massitusetts to the Best of My knowledge is as follows, that I Very Well knew him in Canaday, and that he was baptised Peter and that he was A papist by Profeshon, and his Living and his Marige was in a place called Bashervell in Canaday, Nine Miles from Mount Royal, and that I See his Sister in the Nunnery in Canaday About fifteen or Sixteen years ago. And this is ye Hull truth of What I know, as witness my hand. Sworn to Before Paul Gerrish, J. P., Dover April 1738."

The jury returned a verdict in his favor, if a Papist could hold real estate; but if not, for the defendant.

Tabitha Littlefield was one of the captivés. She was supposed to have been killed, as she was not heard from until many years after. She was but a small child, and, we think, a sister of Aaron. When it was ascertained that she was living, every exertion was made by her friends to induce her to abandon Indian life. But she would listen to no suggestions to that effect. She had become enamored of the wild and free state of the red men. Once she came to Harding's with a company of Indians; while they were selling some of their articles, she suddenly enquired of Mrs. Harding, if she did not



remember Tabitha Littlefield, and without waiting for an answer, escaped from the house.

Esther Wheelright, daughter of Col. John, was also a captive. According to the record, she was at this time but seven years of age. There may be error in the statement that she was captured on the tenth of August. But four years later, she is spoken of as but a child; how she could have performed the journey of two hundred miles and more through the wilderness, we cannot conjecture. As she was a valuable prize, we suppose every exertion was made by the Indians to cheer her youthful heart, and aid her onward in her journey.

Strange as it may seem, there are persons at the present age, born under the light of Christian culture, who have been seduced from their allegiance to it, by the fascinations of Indian life, with whom the romance of the forests and the glades is a perpetual charm; over whose freed spirits the attractions of civilization have no power. So it was at the period of which we are speaking. Some who were wrested from all their happy associations here, and with overwhelming anguish of heart carried into captivity by the savages, soon became the subjects of this strange witchery, and were so under its influence, that the inducements of the paternal home and all the appeals of filial affection, found no response in their hearts; and they never could be persuaded to return from their captivity. How many there were from Wells, who thus became enamored of this wild life, we have no means of ascertaining. Esther Wheelright was one of the number; whether she acquired any more intimate than the natural relationships of life, as did the daughter of Storer, does not appear from any tradition, or any written relics of the day. She wrote to her father while in captivity, and perhaps several times; one letter had been preserved more than an hundred years, but has recently shared the fate of many relics of the olden time. The father lived in the hope that she would come back to gladden his fireside, even to his last days; and provided for her in his will, in the event she should return from her wanderings, after his death. He had received no information of her for many years; and the fate of all humanity may have overtaken her before that time.

The foregoing are all whom we have ascertained to have been the victims of the assault of August tenth. Several houses in the immediate neighborhood of those whose occupants were killed, were





burned, and the tenants, we presume, murdered. As before remarked, no minute of this attack has found its way to our time. One would have supposed that Capt. Hill, during his captivity, would have preserved a list of the prisoners at Montreal; but, if any such was ever made by him, we have been unable to find it. In one letter, he says that there were one hundred and seventeen in his company, and seventy with the Indians; but he gives no names.

These losses fell heavily upon the town; breaking many hearts, and leaving others despondent and penniless, while at the same time, adding very materially to their burdens. The people were now very much reduced, and being in the midst of the war, and unable to cultivate their lands, their prospects were exceedingly gloomy. Still there were noble souls among them, who were not to be driven from the ground; and the next year, as a first step toward restoration, they gathered together, and prepared the following representation of their condition:

“Petition of the town of Wells to the General Court.

May it please your Excellencies &c.

It hath seemed good to this Great and General Assembly to lay on us as our part of three several taxes, eighty pounds; thirty whereof was required just upon the bloody desolation which it pleased God in his Sovereignty to make on our town by the Eastern enemies last year; in which many of our inhabitants (and they such as were wont to bear a great part of our public charges) were either murdered or taken captive, their houses burnt and goods spoiled, besides divers others escaping with only their clothes on their backs. So that we who are the Frontier wing of the body of the Frontier towns are most of all impoverished and diminished. More than a third part of our number are, one way or other, gone from us; and a great part of us who are left, being destitute of employment and income, are so exceeding poor, that if the constable, who hath already used all means more gentle, should execute the law in severity he must take their bodies. Our straights are every way enlarged. What we did formerly allow to our minister, which, at best, was but a slender maintenance, we are not able now to make good, and if country rates be exacted, we have reason to fear that, do what we can, our minister will be constrained to leave us, he having already removed his family for want of a convenient dwelling place, his house being

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three main periods: the first, from the discovery of the continent to the establishment of the first colonies; the second, from the establishment of the first colonies to the declaration of independence; and the third, from the declaration of independence to the present time. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three main periods: the first, from the discovery of the continent to the establishment of the first colonies; the second, from the establishment of the first colonies to the declaration of independence; and the third, from the declaration of independence to the present time.

The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three main periods: the first, from the discovery of the continent to the establishment of the first colonies; the second, from the establishment of the first colonies to the declaration of independence; and the third, from the declaration of independence to the present time. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three main periods: the first, from the discovery of the continent to the establishment of the first colonies; the second, from the establishment of the first colonies to the declaration of independence; and the third, from the declaration of independence to the present time.

only raised and partly enclosed before the present war. Which to finish will be impossible for us, if that little (which thanks be to God) is left us should be taken from us, while we hold our lives in our hands, and when we should labor in improving our lands; which also excepting what are near adjoining our garrisons, lye waste, inso-much that what we do or can improve, will come far short of finding us bread corn. Moreover, instead of adding to that little which the former war left us, we did, in the short time of peaceable intermission lay out what might be spared from our backs and mouths, in building a Meeting House and rebuilding our old waste places and settling new ones, as also in erecting mills, which are now, before they could in any measure repay our disbursements, useless and unprofitable.

May it therefore please this Hon<sup>ble</sup> assembly to commiserate the distressed condition of your impoverished and exposed petitioners, groaning under many heavy burdens, enough to sink us if we now fail of relief, or to remit our above mentioned taxes, excepting what is granted out of them to our minister; thus humbly praying that the most favorable construction may be made of our bold importunity, and whatever else may be found amiss herein, we have not exceeded, but come very short in representing the hard circumstances of our present calamity. We must leave our very sad case to the all disposing influences of a gracious God, who knows the depths of our straights and can move your Excellency, and Hon. Courts of compassion toward your dutiful servants, who shall ever pray.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

JOSEPH STORER.

THOMAS BOSTON.

JOSEPH HILL.

SAMUEL HATCH.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

In behalf of the town of Wells."

The general court ordered one-half of the tax of the preceding year to be abated, and the next year, one-quarter part. This favorable reception of their petition afforded encouragement to the people, and notwithstanding the continued perils of their position, they did not abandon immediately their necessary employments. But watching carefully all the manœuvres of the enemy, with their guns always at hand, they were ready to meet them; though sometimes, the Indians coming upon them in numbers altogether unexpected, they were shot down or captured. When they went to their marshes





or elsewhere to work, away from their garrisons, they stationed sentinels to give notice of the appearance of the enemy. There was but little fear that any small number would attack a party which was armed. They were very sensitive to the use of bullets by their enemies, and would never show themselves where they had reason to believe there was to be much action of that character. Their rule was to give no opportunity to their enemy to avail himself of fire-arms in an open encounter. The art of war with them was altogether in ambush and deceit.

At the same time when these attacks were made on Wells, a sloop was attacked at Kennebunk and captured. What number of the men, if any, fell into the hands of the enemy is not stated in any history extant. They designed to fall upon all the towns in the province at the same moment. They were but few, being eight in the whole. Berwick, York, Winter Harbor, and Kittery were attacked. At the first-named place, being unable to conquer the garrison, they manifested their malignity and wrath by tying one Joseph Ring to a stake and burning him, all the while shouting at the terrible agonies of the victim.

The news of such atrocities induced the lieutenant governor of New Hampshire to come to the aid of the inhabitants of the province, and he ordered Capt. Packer with forty volunteers on board the sloop *Four Friends*, commanded by Capt. Daniel Ware, to go east and visit Wells and other places, and relieve all who were in distress. But those in Wells who were careful in their movements, did not yet need much assistance from abroad. The garrisons could repel any attacks made on them. The spirit of the inhabitants was equal to any emergency. They had Capt. Wadley's company of cavalry ready to rush to any of the remote parts of the settlement, as the occasion might demand, and John Wheelright, Lieut. Joseph Storer, Lieut. Jonathan Littlefield, Lieut. Jonathan Hammond, Lieut. Josiah Littlefield, and other brave men, who were prepared for the calls of any hour. They were well provided with garrison houses in all parts of the village, which was confined entirely to the king's road, running through the town for the most part where the present highway is traveled. John Wheelright, notwithstanding the peril of any out-door labors, pulled down his old house, built by his grandfather, Rev. John Wheelright, and built a new one, near where stood the house of the late John Rankin, deceased. It was





constructed with garrison defences. There were also garrison houses on the site of the house of the late William Cole, and on that of the house of Daniel Eaton, so that there were places of refuge for all in the eastern end of the town, when driven from their homes.

As we have before stated, the winter season generally brought rest to the inhabitants. Cold weather was not adapted to the Indian mode of warfare. The trail would be discovered in the snow. They could not lie, day after day, in ambush, without being detected. If discovered, their tracks would be a sure guide to their pursuers. The perseverance and patience of these savages in the pursuit of their victims were truly wonderful. Nicholas Cole was an experienced millman, and very useful in that department of labor, as mills were being extensively erected in town before this war began. The enemy were anxious to capture him, or at any rate, to deprive the people of his services. He owned a part of a saw-mill, where the Gowen mill now stands. In those days beaver were very abundant about all our rivers and low grounds, and Cole was in the habit of setting his trap for them a little below the mill. As the Indians were supposed to be lurking in the woods, at one time he did not visit his trap for three weeks, when on going to the place he found that it had been taken. After the close of the war it was ascertained that some of the enemy had concealed themselves in the vicinity nineteen days, waiting the opportunity to catch him; but having come to the conclusion that Cole suspected their designs, and their patience being exhausted, they left, taking the trap with them. Cole would have been a great prize for them in Canada. The French had much need of skillful artificers.

In the spring of 1704, the enemy were again lurking in the woods. On the twenty-fifth of April, two men were killed and one taken captive while traveling in the highway. Their names are unknown. This was the first manifestation of their presence at this time. The people again fled to the garrisons. The cavalry could do nothing in the dense wilderness, which was still almost unbroken above the main road. The Indians were not wanting in artifice and skill in screening themselves from capture. Their education had been in the continual practice of deceit and ambush. They were adepts in these matters. It was seldom that they were found, by the most diligent search after them in the forests. At one time, during one of



the wars, seven Indians were discovered on Drake's Island. They were distinctly seen from the highway, and notice of the fact was immediately given to the authorities. A company was mustered and hastened to the island. A diligent search was made of every part of it, and the woods thoroughly examined, but no traces of them could be found. It was concluded that they escaped before the arrival of the company. But where they had gone, or by what means they had effected their escape, was a mystery. No explanation was satisfactory. After the war was over, it was ascertained that they discovered the force coming against them, and seeing no chance of escape from the island, fled to a flag pond, which the inhabitants very well knew had no spot of ground in it on which they could stand. Here, in the midst of the water, they laid themselves down on their backs, with their mouths just out of the water, drawing the few flag stocks over them. In this position they continued motionless during the whole search, a feat which they probably learned from some species of ducks, which, on being wounded, and perhaps at other times, will swim along undiscovered, with their bills just protruding out of the water.

On the eleventh of May, Nicholas Cole, together with three soldiers, Nicholas Hodsdon, Thomas Dane, and Benjamin Gooch, went about a mile from Wheelright's garrison at the eastern end of the town for the purpose of getting his cattle. This was a long distance to venture above the road; but they were armed with their muskets, and believed themselves sufficient for any force which they would be likely to encounter. Having found their cattle, and being on their return home, they discovered twelve Indians, who had probably been watching there, in the expectation that some one, perhaps Wheelright himself, whom they were anxious to secure, would come to drive the cattle home. The Indians were in such a position that they could not run for the garrison. Cole was a brave and decided man, and was for giving them battle; but the soldiers were of a different spirit, and he could not bring them up to the resolution to face the enemy in deadly fight. Cole was undoubtedly right, and in the open ground the savages, even though exceeding his party three times in number, would not have hazarded a battle. His companions ran, and thus compelled him to do the same. He ran down the hill toward the river, and was killed about forty rods below the mill. Hodsdon also was killed, and Dane was taken cap-





tive. Gooch, running immediately on discovering them, was kept from view by the intervening woods and reached the river, where he ran up under the banks and concealed himself under a bush, from which place he witnessed the fall of Cole, and saw them take his scalp and throw his gun into the river. Ninety-six years afterwards this gun was found. Gooch escaped and reached home as soon as opportunity offered, and Capt. Haile's company was sent in pursuit, but the enemy had fled beyond their reach.

The incursions on the various settlements of the province, as well as in various parts of Massachusetts, and the constant apprehensions which were wearing upon the strength and energies of the people, induced the government to adopt measures on a much larger scale, and in this year Col. Church, with 550 men and a small fleet, was sent to the eastward, to break up and destroy any rendezvous which the enemy might have on the coast, and to capture all, whether French or Indians, which might fall in his way. Church carried out the purposes of the expedition to the extent of his power, visiting Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and the Bay of Fundy, and destroying whatever he found of the works of the enemy at Port Royal, and bringing back with him a hundred prisoners.

At this time a man of the name of Lewis Allen was living here, who had previously been an inhabitant of Wells, dwelling near the saw-mill on Little river. In 1685, he bought the dwelling house, land, and one-third of the saw-mill, of William Frost. He was a blacksmith. We do not know how long he continued in Wells, but probably until the close of the ten years' war, during which he must have had a full experience of the horrors of a conflict with the savages. And yet, indifferent to all the revolting cruelties which he knew must ensue the revival of hostilities, he enlisted in the service of the French, to aid in the work of desolation and death. He agreed with the governor of Nova Scotia to come here as a spy. The enemy at Port Royal were anxious to learn what preparations were making to subdue the Indians. To avoid all suspicion of his character, he was invested with the authority of an agent for the exchange of prisoners, and came here under the color of a flag of truce for that purpose. But as it frequently happens, the false character of his mission was suspected. The indications of his treacherous intent are not known; but they were sufficiently strong to justify his arrest. He had not taken the precaution to conceal his instruc-



tions. On searching his person, in his pocket book, the order was found, directing him, "If any enterprise was on foot, that he should join I. A., the two first letters of his name, close together. If it was only in agitation, place them at some distance; but if nothing was in motion, then to sign a cross." Such a traitor well merited the scaffold; but that was not his doom. How he got back to Port Royal we cannot tell; but he was there in 1720, and conveyed all his estate in Wells to Lewis Bane, of York. We can see no reason why it should not have been confiscated.

In consequence of this efficient co-operation of the government, the people of Wells, during the remainder of this year, and the next, enjoyed a respite from the sufferings and perplexities of the war. During this interval came a day of rejoicing to many weary, long-waiting hearts. No description can portray the gladness which brightened their sad faces, when the news spread from house to house, that a letter had been received from Capt. Samuel Hill, announcing the good tidings that the long-lost friends, taken in the assault of August 10, 1703, had been carried captives to Canada, and were still living. Their supposed cruel fate had almost broken many a heart. But the soul-stirring news awakened them to new life and joys, which none can tell to whom has not come a similar experience. In this letter, dated "Canada Oct. 7 1704," Capt. Hill says, "My family are all in health; if our government had sent prisoners home for some which Canada sent, I should have been sent home with my family, and a great many others. If the governor of Massachusetts had only sent one man for me, I and all my family would have been restored. Ebenezer and wife desire to be remembered to you." We suppose that other letters to his friends were received at the same time. Nothing was heard from them during the winter; but in the spring the following letter was received :

"Quebec March 1705.

Cousin Pendleton Fletcher of Saco, Mary Sayer, brother Joseph's daughter, and Mary Storer of Wells, with our other friends and neighbors here, are all well. Myself, wife, and child are well. Pray that God may keep, and in due time deliver us.

Your loving brother and sister,

Ebenezer and Abiah Hill."





Ebenezer had no child when he was taken prisoner; the child referred to was born in Canada, and was ever after called the Frenchman.

The French seem to have treated those in their care very kindly, but the expense of their maintainance bearing heavily upon them, they were anxious to get rid of their captives as quickly as possible. Soon after this, the governor of Canada determined to adopt measures to bring about an exchange. Samuel Hill was selected as agent for this purpose, and sent to Boston to arrange for that object. Hill's family being in the hands of the French, abundant security was thereby afforded for his fidelity to the trust committed to him; and their anxiety for release from captivity would induce him to do all in his power to effect the purpose for which he was sent. The glad tidings of his arrival soon came in the following letter to Capt. John Hill:

"KITTELY, May 10, 1705.

LOVING BROTHER:—These are to acquaint you of my health, and to let you know I have got leave of his Excellency at Boston to go to Wells and visit my friends there. Here are brother and sister Storer, and brother Hill (Joseph) come from Wells yesterday, with whom I intend to go thither in their boat, and I hope to return next week. The Governor has promised that I shall continue here, till the messenger returns from Canada.

Your loving Brother,

SAMUEL HILL."

The government, on Hill's arrival, immediately sent commissioners to Canada, who carried with them seventy of the French and Indian captives, and delivered them to the Canadian authorities; but they only received sixty in return. Of this breach of good faith on the part of the French, our government felt that they had much reason to complain. But Hill's letters seem to indicate that the fault was with Massachusetts, that we had not before acted rightly in this matter; that if the governor here had fulfilled his obligations, he and his family would have been restored some time before. It is possible that this charge was without foundation. Hill may have been deceived by the jesuitry of the Frenchmen.





In the year 1705, attacks were made on the towns of Kittery, York and Wells. A company of the enemy issued from the woods at Cape Neddock and captured four children of Mr. Storer, which were out of the garrison. One of the Indians was killed, and in revenge for this, one of the children who was too young to travel, was knocked on the head and killed, and another was supposed to have been murdered by cruel torture.

The successful defense of the Storer garrison in the former war, nerved the hearts of the people for any conflicts. They knew that so large a force could not be again mustered to overcome them, and they waited patiently for future developments. As they had been free from the enemy's incursions during so many months, they had grown in some measure careless; and Hill writes his brother on the 13th of January to enforce upon him the necessity of caution: "Loving Brother. After my kind love to you and your wife, praying that you would be very careful of yourself in going into the woods, for the enemy will assuredly be skulking about to take all advantage; and I am afraid they are near at hand, for they did design mischief this winter before I came out of Canada, and people's boldness and security denote sudden destruction. Therefore, I pray, let not people's carelessness be your danger."

We have before stated that the winter was not the season of Indian warfare, and though Capt. Hill manifested a wise forethought in this advice, no enemy appeared till the last of April, when they came out of the forests in Kittery and killed a Mr. Shapleigh, who was in the highway, and took his son prisoner and carried him to Canada. But as if delighting in ferocity, and in the groans and tortures of the white men, they exhibited their fiendish malignity in biting off his fingers, and to stop the bleeding seared them with burning-hot tobacco pipes. The Christian even, might well be excused for crying to the Almighty for vengeance on these fiends in human shape; and one can hardly refrain from sympathy and fellowship with the exclamation of one Benjamin Daniel, when his vessel was attacked the next year at Saco, and himself mortally wounded: "I am a dead man, but give me a gun to kill one more before I go."

The year 1706 did not pass without new admonition to the people of Wells to be at all times on their guard. On the thirtieth day of July "a man was killed and another wounded by the skulking Indians." Pursuit was immediately made, but the enemy escaped.



We think scarcely an instance can be found in which the pursuers overtook these murderers. Whenever a small number of them had accomplished their work of killing even a single person, they fled with such precipitancy, and to such a distance, that it was almost useless to pursue them. We do not know the names of the persons who thus became the victims of this unexpected raid.





## CHAPTER XVIII.

QUEEN ANN'S WAR CONTINUED—INDIAN RAIDS—DROWNING OF WAREFIELD AND OTHERS—CAPTURE OF LIEUT. JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD—HIS LETTERS—HIS RELEASE AND DEATH—INDIAN ATROCITIES—TWO MARRIAGES CELEBRATED AT THE GARRISON—SAMBO'S CAPTURE AND ESCAPE—GARRISON ATTACKED—CAPTURE OF PLAISTED—FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD.

IN the spring of 1707, the government sent another expedition eastward to find out and break up the haunts of the enemy in the neighborhood of Passamaquoddy and Port Royal. But the enterprise was an entire failure, and resulted in serious injury to the Province. The Indians had become wearied with the war; but this unsuccessful termination of an expedition on which so much reliance had been placed, so re-inspirited them, that they entered with new zeal upon the work of desolation, cruelty, and death. They attacked all the towns west of Saco. All the settlements east had ceased to exist. The inhabitants had been driven to other places of refuge. Wells did not escape without severe loss. On the tenth of August, a Mrs. Littlefield with four other persons, was attacked while coming from York to Wells. She had with her two hundred dollars in money, a large sum to be in the possession of one person in those days. We suppose that this escort attended her on that account. She was robbed of her money, and all were killed but one man, who succeeded in making his escape. We have not ascertained the names of any of the attendants.

This year, 1707, was a most trying one to the people. They were obliged to confine themselves to the garrisons or to their immediate neighborhood, having but little opportunity to cultivate the soil, and no other means of obtaining the necessary supplies for their families. To those who found their happiness in the activities of life, this constant restriction from daily labor must have brought great weariness of spirit. But more than all these afflictions, in a little village of so



few inhabitants, the murder of one after another of their companions and friends must have come over their souls with a most depressing power. We know the effect of a single murder in one of our villages; what a shock it brings to the hearts of men. What must have been the effect when, day after day, murders, the most appalling, were committed at their own doors, attended also, as they usually were, by the most horrid atrocities that infernal malignity could devise?

But the distress of the inhabitants was sadly augmented by a melancholy event of this year not proceeding from Indian hostility. The twenty-fifth of October was a day of great lamentation and mourning. The people in these perilous times, cut off from almost all other sources of supply, were in the habit of obtaining much of their daily food from the sea, and early in the morning of this day, William Wakefield, James Wakefield, Joseph Storer, jr., Job Littlefield, and Moses Littlefield went out in a small sloop for the purpose of fishing. There was a heavy sea on the bar and the wind very close. As they endeavored to drive her over she was struck by the waves and upset, and all five were drowned. Every exertion was made to save them, but no canoe could live in such a sea. The bodies of four were recovered and buried with great lamentation. These men were all valuable citizens, and their aid was daily needed. The number of available inhabitants now was very small, and the anguish of many hearts almost took away from them the ability to contribute any service to the general welfare.

About the same time a messenger came with notice that about 300 Indians had appeared at Winter Harbor; that they had attacked a fishing shallop and killed Benjamin Daniel. We have before alluded to his exclamation in the midst of his dying agonies. The great guns were immediately fired, giving notice to all around that the enemy were near. This timely warning saved the people. They were so on their guard during the remainder of the year that the enemy do not seem to have done any great injury. The winter approaching, the Indians withdrew from this part of the Province. But the spring of 1708 opened adversely. A great freshet did much damage. The mill property had become very important to the settlers. Dams were not built with the strength which characterizes similar work at the present time, and the heavy freshet left but few of them standing.





The Indians seem now to have abandoned the hope of destroying Wells; still they traveled about in small squads, seeking opportunity to waylay and secure any whom they could find away from the protection of the garrisons. They concealed themselves in the unsettled territory between York and Wells. The people, very indiscreetly, we should judge, were in the habit of passing through these woods. Men exposed themselves to hazards in those times which few would dare at the present day. Exposure was a habit of their lives. Peril had been a concomitant of existence so many years, that life was cold and dead without it, and they would rush into it on the impulse of the moment, thoughtless of consequences. Such were the manifestations of many of the settlers, and to this inconsiderate courage are to be ascribed many of the losses which brought serious injury to the town. Lieut. Josiah Littlefield and Joseph Winn, two valuable men, were on one of these jaunts to York, on the 22d of April, this year, 1708, when they were suddenly surrounded by a body of Indians. Littlefield was taken prisoner, but Winn, being quick in his motions, succeeded in making his escape. The former was a millman and a very skillful engineer, and his services were now very much needed. The devastations of the freshet required the aid of such men to repair the breaches that had been made.

As there are many bearing the name of Littlefield now living in Wells who, we know, will be interested in the account of his captivity, as given by himself, we add here a letter from him, written soon after his capture in 1708:

"Dear and loving children, my kind love remembered to you all, and my kind love to my brother and sister, and my kind love to all my friends att Wells, and to Mr. Emery in particular, dasiaring of him prayers for me and for my children, hoping in God they are in good helth as I am att this present writing, blessed be God for it. Aprel the 23 I was taken by foer Indans, and may the 3 I arived att nongonuay (Norridgewock), and from thence to caback (Quebec), and arrived at caback may the 26 and from thence to Moriel (Montreal), and arrived at Moriel June the 2, and now I have liberty granted to me to rite to my friends and to the governor, and for my redemption and for Wheelrite's child to be redeemed by two Indens prisoners that are with the English now, and I have been with the





governor this morning and hee have promised that if our governor will send them that wee shall be redeemed, for the governor have sent a man to redeem Wheelrites child and do lookes for him in now every day with the child to Moriel where I am, and I would pray whilrite to be very brief in the matter, that we may come home before winter, for we must come by Albany, and I have allso acquainted our Gofnear dedly (Dudley) with the same. no more at present but remain yours to command.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD."

loving cousen. My kind love remember to you and to your wife and children and to all my friends, hoping in god that you and my dear children are all in helth as I am att present. O, I dasiare to bless god for the same, and I would pray you to be very kind, and a father to my dear children while I do come home, and so take the care of them and my estaite to maintain them that they may not sufeare. I would have you not to pay any deates of mine till I do come home, and I would pray you to rasarve some quantity of money to gather for mee, for I shall be at a great charge in my coming home if please god to spare my life and helth, and what money you can resarve to gether for me let it be silver money, for I must borre some money, and peaper money would not pass heare, so I would commit the care of all my concerns into your hands while my return. I am in grate hopes that if please god to spare me my life and helth that I may be at home by the midst of winter next ensuing, so I shall dasiare your prayers constant for me, as mine shall be for you all, so I remain yours to command, ever loving onkel til death,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

Mary Storrar is well and Rachel Storar and — Storer is well and Mary Austin of York is well and dasiares to remember their duty to thear father and mother and their kind love to all thear friends and ralations, hoping in god you are all well.

I would pray you — Wheelright dear friends to be mindful in the matter conserning our redemson. I have ritent to the governer at boston.

Yours to command,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

This for Capt John Wheelright and Josiah Winn att Wells. deliver with care."



Littlefield's mechanical services were highly appreciated by the French, and he was kept at Montreal until the autumn of 1709, when he was released from captivity; but his freedom—there being no mode of transportation—was not a very great boon to him. The following letter gives the sequel to his liberation. His literature does not equal his mechanical skill; still it is not less interesting on that account.

It may be well to premise that the first notice of his arrival in Maine was communicated in a letter from Samuel Moody, at Canso, two days before the date of Littlefield's letter, in which he states that three Indians had come in, and hinted that they had him in their possession. The hint was undoubtedly intended to draw out some offer for his surrender. They knew that he was a useful man, and supposed that they should receive a large sum for his ransom. It does not appear where Littlefield's letter was written; from the fact stated by Moody, we presume that, at the time, he was not far from Canso.

“January 29, 1710.

I thought it convenient to give to his Excellency an account where I am, and how the case stands with me. I was coming home in the fall, and was taken by a Canady Indian which told me that I must go back to Canady again, and I told him I thought I could not by reason of sickness in my journey, and he told me that he would kill me, and was a Indian that longing to Norrigway, and I spoke to him to plead for me, that I might remain at Norrigway al winter, and with much persuading he sold me to a Indian belonging to Norrigway, which has nursed me and have recovered me, and have promised him payment for the love he bare to me in that respect, for he has been like a father to me, and now he is very willing that I should come home, if your Excellency would give leave that a sloop may come to Sacaty Hock, and to send Joseph Bane, for they have a desire to come to speak together, and they would have no other man than Joseph Bane to come for they reckons it all one as though your own person was there, if Joseph bane be living, and if not some other good onest man. So I remain your humble sarvent, hoping that you will take pity on me.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

And to send but three men besides  
Joseph bane in the sloop.

And after the arrival of this  
letter, the sloop to Sacaty Hock in fifteen days.”





Littlefield, we suppose, had entered into some agreement with his master, to go with him to Sagadahock, in the confidence that he could there make provision for his ransom. He had had before a hard experience in his endeavors to reach his home through the wilderness. As he states in his letter, after being wearied out, and reduced by disease, he was re-captured and carried to Norridgewock. He might well feel that the same fate would overtake him if he made another similar attempt. The first Indian whom he might meet, would seize upon him, knowing that thereby he should secure a valuable prize; he therefore agreed with his master, and two other Indians, to accompany him to the fort at Canso. Having arrived in the neighborhood of the fort, and Littlefield being secured, the Indians went forward, under a flag of truce, and after stating to the officer that they had Littlefield in possession, endeavored to enter into some negotiations for his delivery. Moody, who then had charge, was not fully satisfied of the truth of the statement; but the Indians, having obtained stationery for the purpose, returned to Littlefield, who wrote the letters which are here incorporated; so that there could be no doubt of their statements. Beside the letter to the governor, he also addressed the following letter to Moody:

"Jan. 29, 1709-10.

Capt. Samuel Moody, after my love to you, I would pray you to make these Indians very welcome for one is my master, therefore be kind to them and if you can, send to me an old Cot, and a pair of stockings, and a little solt, if it be but a pound or two.

No more, but remain,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

Yours to command."

He seems to have made large promises for his ransom, as he also sent by the Indians the following letter to his friend in Boston:

"Jan. 29, 1709-10.

Cozen Barba: After my love to you and all my friends, I have sent a letter to the governor, that a sloop may come to Sacot Hoss, and I would pray you to send me this goods which I two hogshsiss of meat and one hogssiss of corn, ten yards of broadcloth of a sad color, and for a great variety of articles.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD."



This order was for the purpose of fulfilling his contract with the Indians. Having left some property in Wells, his cousin Barber could well trust him for this purpose. The governor, though anxious for Littlefield's restoration, was for good reasons, opposed to purchasing the liberty of any of the unfortunate captives. Littlefield well understood this matter; but one will give everything for his life. In the hands of his enemies, who in the event of the disappointment of their expectations might carry him back into captivity, or perhaps, in revenge for his breach of faith, put him to torture or a cruel death, he endeavored to obtain the means for his liberation, without the knowledge of the governor. Who, when everything dear to his heart was involved in the issue, would hesitate as to his right and duty at this hour? Worn out by his travel in the wilderness, suffering from cold and hunger, reduced by disease, and sick at heart by perpetual and unsatisfied longings for his home and the society of his friends, how could he refrain from the use of any means which might restore him from the darkness in which he had so long dwelt, to the sunshine and the blessedness of his own fireside? His home might not have been of the most cheery character, but still it was his home. His wife was not the most gentle of the sex. A strong litigious proclivity sometimes carried her beyond the bounds of a becoming female modesty. But yet she was his wife, and men will love their wives. Though the smiles on her face, like angel's visits, might be few and far between, yet when they did come, they were so much the more joyful to his heart. They had children also, with whose lives all the fibers of his soul were entwined. How then could he go back into captivity without once again fixing his eyes on his long-lost home.

But the governor in one of his letters to Moody had said: "I always pity a prisoner in Indian hands, especially when their masters are indigent, in necessity of everything; but no consideration of that nature has yet altered my resolution never to buy a prisoner of an Indian, lest we make a market for our poor women and children in the frontiers."

Littlefield felt that recaptivity, and perhaps death, would be the consequence of his failure to fulfill his promises, and he may therefore have sent other letters to his cousin Barber, beside that which we have before copied. The letter of the governor enumerates several articles which are not named in Littlefield's. None of





the letters of the latter name the place from whence they were written. We presume he was forbidden by the Indians to make that known. Moody seems to have been aware of the contents of all his letters, and fearing that some difficulties might grow out of these orders for goods, if sent, kept this one to Barber in his own hands, while that to the governor was sent by Bean.

This latter was laid before the legislature, by whom the governor was advised to send Bean to relieve Littlefield and to ascertain "what the indians would say." But the governor says, in a letter to Moody, that before Bean was ready to sail "we are surprised by a letter from the fort, signed by Robert Pike, that tells us of other letters from Littlefield, importing the sending of hogsheds of corn, meal, pease, clothes, shoes, &c., of which you gave me no advice." Bean was therefore sent to Canso to obtain these other letters before adopting any measures for the release of Littlefield. Moody, feeling that he had mistaken his duty, in not sending all their letters to the governor, writes to him Feb. 1709-10: "I solemnly protest to your Excellency, before God, I lie not, that my design was only to prevent its coming into the hands of private persons, who might have sent these supplies, without their coming to your Excellency's knowledge." Moody enclosed the letters to Dudley, who wrote to him in reply Feb. 11th: "The business of seeing them at Sagadahock (being entangled with that expectation of a trade with Barker) is perfectly over, and will admit of no further consideration." He had written to Moody Feb. 4, that he "must insist on the delivery of Littlefield without any purchase, but that on his delivery to you, if they will, then tell me what they would have me know from them." And he now repeats "if they are in earnest to release Littlefield, or hope for anything from me, and then you will exactly follow your orders of the 4th of February, to insist on the delivery of Littlefield, and tell you their errand to me, they shall have my answer in twenty days."

Here was a sad fix for Littlefield. His scheme for his redemption was all frustrated, and his hopes of soon being homeward bound, blasted. Red tape, or official punctilio, had no charms for one in the hands of savages, suffering from the unnatural life which he was then living, and yearning for the old blessings and comforts of civilization. The Indian, his master, had evidently been exceedingly kind in his treatment of him, and Littlefield felt that he was worthy





of reward. He had brought him here without the consent of the French, in the expectation of being paid for his fidelity, and this untutored native, apparently somewhat christianized, must have felt that but little reliance could be placed in the word of the white man. In times of war, we are aware, there may be occasion, and thence justification, for extraordinary proceedings, but it seems too much like despotic usurpation, to prohibit one who has been a loyal citizen and a faithful subject from redeeming himself from bondage. The effect of such a ransom, to be sure, might not have been favorable to the general weal. Such a purchase of one's liberty might have encouraged the enemy to secure others as prisoners, to profit in the same way; but no civil law, and no other law, human or Divine, can justify the oppression of one honest citizen, because thereby good may come to others.

What course the disappointed Indians took under the circumstances, we have been unable to learn. Littlefield, being cut off from all access to his friends, or to the fort, was unable to do any thing toward the fulfillment of his promises, and we suppose he was carried back to Norridgewock. But after three or four months more in captivity, they concluded to trust to the governor's intimation that he would do what was right in twenty days after he was delivered up, and brought him back and surrendered him at the fort. On the tenth of July, Littlefield's master and many other Indians came in, and stated that the French were very angry on account of Littlefield's delivery, and that they now had no commerce with them, and asked a supply of provisions, agreeably to the governor's intimation. Littlefield's captivity was thus ended, and he returned home to the great joy of his friends. But it was only for a little while that his fireside was gladdened by his presence; or that he was permitted to enjoy that liberty for which he had so long sighed. He was an energetic man, and unwilling to be pent up and excluded from the activities of life, he went about his work as before, forgetting the sufferings of his captivity and fearless of again falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 18th of April, 1712, while teaming with others, he was shot down by the Indians, who still lurked about in the forest. Thus his earthly experiences were ended, to the great sorrow of many hearts. He had been a valuable citizen and an efficient man, on whose aid and counsel the people had placed much



reliance. He was elected to municipal offices of trust and responsibility, was selectman several years, town agent, and captain of the militia. His death brought heavy affliction to all.

We have devoted considerable space to this sketch of Lieut. Littlefield's history, believing that it would be of general interest among the townsmen. We now return to our point of departure in 1708. The remainder of this year, after his capture, was favorable to the settlers. The enemy did not show themselves in any part of the town. During this year and the next, the governor was active in doing what he could to dislodge the French and the Indians from their hold at Port Royal and the coast beyond Canso. It was the French alone who were responsible for the desolation which had caused so much suffering throughout the Province. They had inspired the uncultivated Indian mind with the fear of being driven by the English from the lands which they had long enjoyed as their own, and from thence sprung all that malignity and rage which would naturally grow out of such a wrong, and which could only find satisfaction in the enormities and merciless cruelties of which they had been guilty in their wars against the settlers. They were the mere tools of the Catholics. Had it not been for the influence of these French priests, the war would long since have come to an end. But they were continually urging them forward. The governor, confident that there would be no permanent peace, until Canada and Nova Scotia were a part of the British domain, felt it important to put forth every exertion for that end. In 1710, he succeeded in accomplishing one part of this important purpose, in subduing Nova Scotia and bringing it under British government. But Canadian influence would not permit the natives to abandon the war. They were still urged to the fight, and fell on the towns of York, Saco, and on Winter Harbor, and captured several persons. It is not known, however, that any attack was made on Wells until the fall of the year 1709, when, on the fifth of September, just before sunset, Joseph Titus, of Rehoboth, and one other man, soldiers, started from the garrison to visit their fellow soldiers and the people of the village. On the way Titus was killed and the other taken prisoner. So uncertain was life when one attempted to move from the garrisons. The Indians would lie in wait in the woods for days and weeks to secure the death of a single individual, and then flee with





great rapidity beyond the reach of all pursuers. They were not seen again in Wells until the last of April the next year, 1710, when on the twenty-ninth of that month, they killed two men who were planting corn in their fields.

The next year, 1711, two other men exposing themselves in the fields, were suddenly attacked and killed. This year and the next brought trouble and sorrow to almost every fireside. Many other acts of savage cruelty were perpetrated. A woman who had hazarded a walk too far from home was discovered by the Indians; she ran, but they overtook her, and having taken her scalp left her, supposing she was dead; but she afterwards raised herself and succeeded in reaching a potato hole, in which she laid herself down, and drawing her apron over her head, remained there during the night. In the morning she was enabled to reach the garrison, and afterward entirely recovered. A man by the name of Sampson lived in a house near by that of the late judge Wells. His wife had just been confined, and was then in bed with her babe by her side. The husband being absent, two Indians suddenly entered the house, killed the child and scalped the mother. The nurse, the only other person in the house, escaped by concealing herself in a bunch of alders near by.

In looking back to this period of our history, it seems to us remarkable that any man could have held a residence here, when peril marked every moment of life. And it is no less strange that in days of such hazard, men and women should expose themselves as they did, in venturing, at any time, beyond the protection of the fort. Every step from it was fraught with danger. They might carry their guns with them, but of what avail could they be against the muskets of the unseen enemy? At any moment the fatal shot might come out of the forest.

But it must be considered that the people were poor, and provision must be made for the support of their families. So many years of war had reduced many of them almost to poverty; they preferred hazard to starvation, and must look to mother earth for the supply of their wants. They used the land nearest to the garrisons, but this was not sufficient to satisfy their demands. In the year 1708, to meet in some measure the necessity for farm labor, the town granted liberty to Benjamin Gooch, William Larrabee, and Thomas



Wormwood, to till the highway four rods wide, which ran on the north-east side of Capt. John Wheelright's farm, at the eastern end of the town. Here they were in sight of, and under the protection of the garrison, and the road was of but little use while the war continued. Such were the straits to which our fathers were reduced.

While darkness was over all the Province, and while within Wheelright's garrison there were many anxious and sorrowing souls, the impulses of love were still warm in the hearts of others; and conjugal union was felt by some of the inmates to be a material adjunct to the panoply of defense against the enemy which surrounded them. They believed, that two being made one, would give increased power to resist all attacks on their peace and quiet; that a husband and wife would be much more effective in warding off trial and sorrow, than man and woman in their separate personalities. Accordingly, while thus enjoying the protection of the garrison, two marriages were celebrated within its walls. The names of the parties in the first, have gone with the past. The special matter of interest in this case is, what transpired out of the garrison, as a consequence of what was done within. From the knowledge we have of the people of this age, we are well assured that the inmates did not permit the evening to pass without the convivialities usual on such occasions. There was music and dancing, and for the time, the attention of all was drawn from the cares and anxieties of life. John Wheelright, though a thoughtful and considerate man, was sensible of the importance of maintaining among the people cheerfulness and an air of life and activity, and therefore he entered into the enjoyments of the hour; but the thoughts of the household were so much absorbed in the festivities, that they forgot the necessary care out of doors. Wheelright had a good many cows; these were sent to pasture a small distance from home; and to save trouble and exposure in going for them at night, the gate was left open, so that they could return of their own accord; but on going to the yard in the evening, they were not found there. No attempt was made to find them till morning, when Wheelright, finding that they had not returned, ordered his slave, by the name of Sambo, to look them up. Some of the company were confident that the detention of the cows was the work of the Indians; but Wheelright replied that there were no Indians within fifteen miles. Much confidence was reposed





in his opinion; he was, however, deceived in his calculations. The enemy had been in the pasture, and knowing that some one would come after the cows at night, had closed the gate, hoping to secure a prisoner. According to orders, Sambo went in search of the cattle; but he had no sooner reached the gate, than he fell into the hands of the Indians. They had three other prisoners, and started at once toward Canada. Sambo was loaded down very heavily by the traps which they carried with them, all being put on his shoulders. It was a sad hour in which he was thus cut off from a return to Massa Wheelright; and the thought of traveling to Canada with such a burden did not impress him very favorably. The Indians, too, had an inveterate hatred of the negro, and his life, he knew, would not be very precious in their sight; but to help him a little, the Indians provided him with a good pair of moccasins. Thus invested, he traveled off with the company in the direction of Mousam mill. He kept up pretty well, but not having much sympathy with his companions, or very lively anticipations of a visit to Canada, his thoughts were rather more personal than companionable. His wits had been sharpened by the experiences of life, and he was revolving in his mind some scheme for severing the forced connection between him and his red masters. He traveled along very patiently, till they were about coming to the Mousam river, when, being apparently somewhat fatigued, he lagged a little. Under the burdens which he had upon him, the Indians had no apprehensions of his attempting an escape; they set fire to the saw-mill, and went on their way till dark, when Sambo, being somewhat in the rear, suddenly dropped his burden, and with "consummate skill," though without much regard to prescribed tactics, beat a hasty retreat. Having run about a mile, he climbed a tree, and concealing himself among its branches, there awaited further developments. The Indians were soon in pursuit, and passed the tree, but in a little while came back again, without having seen him. Sambo, knowing too well the danger of immediately trusting himself again to the race, remained ensconced in the top of the tree till morning light, when, feeling assured that the Indians would not dare to remain longer in the neighborhood, he left his hiding-place, and returned to the garrison. Stepping up to Wheelright, he lifted his foot, and, in answer to his ejaculation, "Sambo! where did you come from?" replied, that he had had a





new master, who had made him a present of the moccasins, which he thought was pretty good pay for his day's adventure.

Another memorable event of the war, and the last specially interesting to the inhabitants of Wells, occurred on the sixteenth day of September following, when a wedding was to take place at this garrison, between Elisha Plaistead and Hannah, the daughter of Wheelright. This was a great occasion. Wheelright's acquaintance and friendships were extensive, and many persons were invited to attend the ceremonial; some from Portsmouth, some from places farther distant, and many in Wells. Notwithstanding the perils of travel, a large number gathered at the garrison. Probably some made the passage by water. Plaistead, the bridegroom, came with a large escort of his friends from Portsmouth. The festivities and merriment of the occasion were sufficient incitement to overcome all fears of the journey. Though the initiation to the connubial union is in fact a matter of deep solemnity, involving the interests and happiness of the parties for life, yet it never was, and never will be, possible to give it any other character than that which it had when the world first began to marry and give in marriage. However impressive the services, fervent the prayers, and solemn the admonitions, on such occasions, the hearts of the young and the middle aged will rejoice. The inspirations of the hour are altogether joyous. Male and female will rush from the prayer to the dance; from solemnity to festivity. Whatever may be the perils or threatenings from without, all within will wear the glad aspect of life and animation. Hannah was young, only eighteen years of age, and her buoyant spirits were not to be checked for the moment by any repressing thoughts of the contingencies of future years. In fact, the young girl who manifests any other than a cheery, happy spirit at such a period will not be likely to make her husband's home a heaven. A sad countenance can never bring peace and joy to a household. These joyous occasions are good for the soul. They infuse new life into society. They wake up the drooping spirits of the old. Fathers and mothers are quickened to newness of life. An old-fashioned wedding, when liberties were given and taken which conventionalism has since restricted, was in reality a mercy to many struggling souls, wearied with the labors of the day and saddened by the ill success of life. The convivialities of the evening cheered the hearts and animated



the conversation of the participants for, perhaps, many a day afterward.

The nuptials had been celebrated, and joy prevailed throughout the garrison, when the programme was suddenly varied by another party out of doors. The wily red man had been lurking around, watching all the movements of the happy company. A large force, numbering from 150 to 200, were near the garrison, ready for any evil work of which they could avail themselves. Some of the friends were preparing to depart when notice was given that two of the horses were missing. The thought does not seem to have entered their minds that the enemy had had any agency in carrying them away, and three of them, Joshua Downing, Isaac Cole, and Sergeant Tucker, rushed out immediately in pursuit; but they had gone but a short distance when Cole and Downing were killed and Tucker was wounded and taken prisoner.

The firing announced to the garrison the terrible reality that they were surrounded by the savages. But there were brave men among them; Capt. Robinson, Capt. Lane, Capt. Heard, John Plaisted, Robert Plaistead, Phillip Hubbard, Joseph Curtis, Lieut. Banks, and others, with Elisha Plaisted, the bridegroom, also a man not backward in duty at such a crisis. Unaware of the great number of the assailants, they rushed out in the darkness, and each one seized a horse already bridled, and started in pursuit of the enemy, first giving orders for a dozen men to run across the fields and intercept their retreat. John Wheelright does not seem to have exercised his usual precaution. What could these few men on horseback do in the darkness of the night, when the assailants were in ambush, ready to send the fatal missive whenever they should come within their reach? The Indians had so stationed themselves as to meet the people from the house, in whatever direction they might appear, and as soon as these seven or eight fearless men appeared upon horseback, they were at once arrested by the guns of the savages. Robinson was killed, and several of the horses shot under the riders. Plaistead, the bridegroom, was taken prisoner. The rest made their escape and reached the house in safety. A company of about seventy was immediately mustered, who pursued and gave battle to the enemy, but as they kept in the skirts of the forests, and were more numerous than our forces, not much was effected by the contest. One man was killed on each side, when the firing ceased. Lieut.





Banks, then under a flag of truce, was sent forward to ascertain the terms on which Plaistead could be ransomed. He was met by six Indians calling themselves captains; among them Bombazen, Capt. Nathaniel, and another, with whom he had become acquainted when our captives were redeemed at Casco Bay. They would make no immediate arrangement, but promised to bring their captives to Richmond's Island in five days, where they could settle the question. They knew that they had a valuable prize, and were in no hurry to dispose of it. Plaistead was also aware that his life was important to them, and therefore had no fear of being murdered. Although in large force, they did not attempt any other raids upon the settlers, but immediately retreated. Such was their general action. Having achieved this small success, they fled beyond the reach of any forces which might be gathered against them. In addition to Capt. Harmon's and Lane's companies, which were there at the time, those of Capt. Willard and Capt. Robinson were immediately sent to Wells. But there was now no enemy to fight. The Indians had entirely disappeared.

The foregoing account has been gathered from the histories extant, with some corrections and additions; but we think it is not, in all its details, correct. The marriage ceremony had, undoubtedly, been performed. The company did not attempt to go home at night, but all remained till morning, when going out they learned that some of their horses had been taken. The customs of olden time, and all the circumstances of this conflict with the Indians, make it evident that the out door action must have been in the daylight. No such fool-hardy adventure would have been attempted in the darkness. Lieut. Banks, who was a prominent actor in the drama, stated that it took place in the morning. The first tidings received from Plaistead were contained in the following letter written to his father, without date:

"SIR. I am in the hands of a great many Indians, with which there is six captains. The sum that they will have for me is 50 pounds & thirty pounds for Tucker my fellow prisoner in good goods, as broadcloth and some provisions, some tobacco, pipes, Pomisstone, stockings, and a little of all things. If you will come to Richmond's Island in 5 days at farthest, for here 2 hundred Indians, and they belong to Canada.



If you do not come in 5 days, you will not see me, for Captain Nathaniel, the Indian, will not stay no longer, for the Canada Indian is not willing for to sell me. Pray, Sir, don't fail, for they have given me one day, for the days were but 4 at first. Give my kind love to my dear wife.

This from your dutiful son till death,

ELISHA PLAISTEAD."

Plaistead was finally redeemed, it is said, in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, for three hundred pounds; but the foregoing letter does not bring much support to that statement. One acquainted with the existing state of the finances of the inhabitants of Wells, can hardly believe that there was so much money in the whole town.

Thus we have reached the close of another ten years' bloody war. Wells was not again disturbed by these savage raids. The Indians desired peace, and the next year, 1713, another treaty was signed, they giving the most solemn assurances that they would not again take up arms against the English.

During this war (in 1712), died FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, aged 93. We have already referred to his strange disappearance from his father's family in England, when only eleven or twelve years old. He may have again met his father in Exeter in 1640; for beside Goodman Littlefield, the father, who had twenty acres of land there assigned him, another Goodman Littlefield had an assignment of four acres. This, we think, may have been Francis, who became of age in 1640. Anthony was a younger son. When Wheelright and the other members of the combination were driven from Exeter by the extension of Massachusetts jurisdiction over that territory, instead of coming to Wells with his father, Francis went to Woburn, Mass., where he was taxed in 1646, and where, by his wife Jane, he had a daughter Mary, born Dec. 14, of that year. We know not the parentage of this wife. She died on the 20th. He probably then removed to Dover, which he represented in the Legislature in 1648. We do not find him at Wells till after 1650; in 1648, he was married to Rebecca, the mother of all his children, whose names appear on



record. We conclude that there is no foundation for the current report that the father first found him settled on a farm in Wells.

He was a small boy when he left his father's house, and what could have induced this unnatural act, apparently voluntary on his part, we do not know; but it is remarkable, that, when in advanced youth, he must have known that his mysterious disappearance would cause great anxiety to his parents, he should have refrained from giving them any information of himself and his prospects. We conclude, that for some reason, his attachment to them must have been exceedingly weak. This dereliction of filial obligation might all disappear on a full knowledge of facts. The freaks of boyhood do not always indicate the subsequent character of the man; notwithstanding this apparent inconsistency with a true manhood, Littlefield maintained a fair position among the settlers of Wells. From the nature of his business, his acquaintance was extensive. He kept a public house; that is, so far as to accommodate travelers who were then following the seaboard in pursuit of a location at the eastward. He does not seem to have been very punctilious in his regard for law; he was licensed to sell spirituous liquors for one year; but he continued to sell after his license expired, and had difficulty in obtaining a renewal, although he promised not again to be guilty of such a violation of law. He was elected as a Representative of York in 1668; he was also Representative from Wells in 1665 and 1676, and became a strong supporter of the claims of Massachusetts. Savage speaks of him as a leader in that contest. The General Court held its sessions at his house. His part in the complication of Mr. Buss and Mrs. Eldridge was not such as a sound morality would countenance; but his version of the affair has not come down to us. He was recognized by the inhabitants of Wells as a sound man; and he lived to a good old age, which affords some evidence of a conscientious and satisfactory life.

That our readers may understand that the influence of a man at this period did not depend on his pecuniary status, we append an account of his property, as exhibited in the inventory of his estate, of which the following is a copy:





|  |  |        |
|--|--|--------|
| "Imprimis: one old bed and bedstead, and old furniture |  |        |
| belonging, - - - - -                                   |  | £6 0 0 |
| Imprimis: Wooling Cloaths & Lining, all old, -         |  | 2 0 0  |
| Imprimis: two old chears, with two old Chussons,       |  | 0 5 0  |
| Imprimis: one looking glass, - - - - -                 |  | 0 3 0  |
| Imprimis: one pair tongs, one fire shovel, -           |  | 0 2 0  |
| Imprimis: old pewter, one old candlestick & skillet,   |  | 0 4 0  |
| Imprimis: one old chest and one old box, -             |  | 0 5 0  |
| Imprimis: one cow, - - - - -                           |  | 2 15 0 |
| Imprimis: one old table and 2 old books, -             |  | 0 6 0" |



## CHAPTER XIX.

REV SAMUEL EMERY—MEETING-HOUSE REBUILT—CHURCH ORGANIZED—  
ORDINATION OF MR. EMERY—LETTER OF REV. SAMUEL MOODY—SUSPENSION OF DEACON WELLS—DEATH OF MR. EMERY.

SAMUEL EMERY graduated at Harvard University in 1691. When he came to Wells cannot now be determined, but he had located himself here as early as 1698; had married and had one child, born that year. Though the records do not show any town action in the matter, he was probably here as a school teacher, or he may have been sent to Wells by the government as chaplain, in pursuance of the request of the people, which we have before stated. Being in the habit of preaching at the garrison, the people may have been well satisfied with his religious services, and by general consent, without a town meeting, have adopted the necessary means to retain him as their minister. In October, 1698, at a town meeting it "was agreed upon that said inhabitants shall cut and haul home for Mr. Samuel Emery, a minister of said town, five and twenty cords of wood for this ensuing year." The inference from this is, that he was a resident minister there. He had gained the good will of the people, although no contract had been entered into with him to become the pastor of the town.

We who have never been subjected to the sad experience through which our predecessors had to pass in this last protracted Indian war, can have but a very imperfect conception of the relief which came over them when the light of peace dawned, and they could go forth to resume their labors in the field.

As we might well anticipate, their first efforts were directed toward the re-establishment of those public religious services, so dear to the christian, and so necessary to the well-being of every community.

The old house of worship had been laid waste, and they now had it in their hearts to rebuild the temple for the service of Him who





had brought them out of their trials. Though many through the devastations of war had not where to lay their heads, they now came forward in town meeting and "voted to build a meeting-house for the public worship of God," on the site of the sanctuary which had been burnt by the enemy. Lieut. Joseph Storer and Capt. John Wheelright, who had been brave-hearted and energetic defenders of the town through all the vicissitudes of the war, with Jonathan Hammond and William Sayer, were chosen a committee, with power to contract for the "hewing and hauling the frame, and all timber, and for logs for boards and slit work, and for shingles, to be placed on the ground during the following winter," and thus the rebuilding of the house of the Lord was commenced in 1699. It was only raised and boarded this year, for they had not the ability at this time to complete it. Their population was small and their means limited. Many of the inhabitants had fled at the commencement of hostilities, and many had been killed. The building was so far advanced as to protect it from injury by the weather, but it remained in this unfinished state six or seven years. After 1700 they sustained public worship at this house. In the spring of 1703, it was voted "to give William Sayer £8 in money on condition that said William Sayer doth in a workmanlike manner, seat the Meeting House in all the lower part thereof" at or before the last day of May next, under the direction of Capt. John Wheelright and Lieut. Jonathan Hammond. This was all that the people were then able to do. The difficulty of obtaining money, and thence the low price of labor at this time, may well be inferred from this contract to seat the meeting-house. But he did not accept the contract, and the house remained but a mere shell, even without plastering or windows till 1707. It was then voted to glaze it and prepare seats for the congregation. How the people had been accommodated before this, the record gives no information.

When we consider the renewed anxieties and impediments which attended their labors, we can only wonder that they did not altogether abandon the work. Queen Ann's war commenced in 1703; so that they had scarcely begun before hostilities commenced. It might reasonably have been expected that they would at once have laid aside their tools and abandoned the house to the hazards of the war, rather than to have exhausted their means upon a work which, from its prominency, might seem to invite the incendiary



torch. But they appear to have had faith in the overruling Providence that it would be watched over, and that no evil would befall it. The year 1703, when they voted to have seats prepared for the congregation, was marked for the devastation of the Indians, all the way from Casco to Wells. Some of their most valuable and useful citizens, Samuel Hill, Nicholas Cole and others had been carried into captivity or murdered, and many buildings burnt. Why the meeting-house was spared, is only known to Him who has in His hands the destiny of all things.

The labors of the people were not lost; the house of worship survived the ravages of another ten years' war. In the year 1702, the town also voted "to build a suitable dwelling-house, on the town's land, for the use of the ministry;" but as in the previous year Mr. Emery had received a grant of a hundred acres of up-land with ten acres of marsh, he preferred to build the house himself, on his own lot, with such aid as the people were disposed to give him; and at a meeting in March, 1703, they voted "to give Mr. Emery £35, in good merchantable provisions, and lumber at money prices, to be applied to the building of his house, provided he agreed that the town should be discharged from any obligation to build any other house for his use, so long as he should continue here in the ministry." Mr. Emery readily assented to this proposition. In 1706, they voted to repair his house, and in addition, to build him a study twelve feet square. This study was built by the mill garrison, at the west of his house, where the river crosses the highway.

As is stated in another place, representations had been made to the general court of the great losses, both of men and property, sustained by the town during the Indian wars, and of their inability to provide for the support of the ministry. In view of these facts, some aid was furnished by the government to assist in building the meeting-house. It was of small size, thirty feet square; but the population having been so much reduced by the war, it was large enough to accommodate the people.

Prior to the year 1700 there had been no settled minister in town. Those of whom we have before spoken were hired annually, so that either party could withdraw from the contract at the end of the year. The aid which the people were so ready to give Mr. Emery clearly indicates that they were well satisfied with his ministrations, but as none of his intellectual efforts have come down to us, we





have no means of estimating his ability as a preacher. He was, undoubtedly, very acceptable in his vocation, or he would not have so commended himself to their sympathies.

On the 17th of March, 1701, the town voted to settle him as their regular minister, and "to give him yearly £45, to be paid one-half in money, the other half in good merchantable provisions, as follows: wheat at five shillings a bushel; Indian corn at three shillings a bushel; rye at three shillings a bushel; pork at three pence a pound; beef at two pence a pound; and to cut and bring to his house twenty-five cords of firewood, and that he should have the use of the ministerial land." They also agreed to fence all the land below the king's road, and give him and his heirs a hundred acres, as before stated. At this time there were no houses on the lower side of the highway. The upland there in front of the houses was all fenced in and designated as the corn-fields. The lands back of the houses had not been cultivated to any considerable extent.

The propositions made by the town were accepted by Mr. Emery. A church was organized Oct. 29, 1701, and the following covenant assented to and subscribed:

We, whose Names are underwritten, sensibly acknowledging our own unworthiness to be in, and Inability to keep Covenant with God as we ought, yet apprehending the Call of God unto us, to put ourselves into a relation of Church Communion, and to seek the Settlement of the Ordinances of Christ (according to Gospel Institution) among us, Do, abjuring all confidence in ourselves and relying on Jesus Christ for Help, declare as followeth:

1 That we professedly acknowledge ourselves engaged to the Fear and Service of the only true God (Father, Son and Holy Ghost) and to the Lord Jesus Christ, (the high Priest, Prophet and King of his Church) under whose conduct we submit ourselves; and on whom alone we wait for Grace and Glory, to whom We declare ourselves bound in an everlasting Covenant never to be broken.

2 That We are obliged to give up ourselves to one another in the Lord, and to cleave to one another, as fellow members of one Body for mutual edification, and submit ourselves to all the holy Administrations appointed by Him who is the Head and Lawgiver of His Church, dispensed according to the Rules of the Gospel, and to give





our attendance (as God shall enable us) on all the Public Ordinances of Christ's Institution, walking orderly as becometh Saints.

3 That We are under covenant Engagements to bring up our Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, acknowledging our Infants to be included with us in the Gospel Covenant, and to stand in Covenant Relation according to Gospel Rules, Blessing God for such a Privilege. Furthermore, That We are under indispensable obligations at all Times, to be careful to procure the Settlement and Continuance of Church Officers among us according to the Appointment of Jesus Christ, the Chief Shephard of His Flock, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, and That we are equally obliged to be careful and faithful for their Maintainance, Incouragement and Comfort, and to carry it towards them as becometh Saints.

4 Finally. Solemnly and seriously professing ourselves to be a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, do promise, by the Help of Grace, to walk together as Persons under such Vows of God ought to doe, according to all those Rules in the Gospel, prescribed to such a Society, so far as He hath revealed or shall reveal his Mind to us in this Respect.

Now the Good Lord be merciful to us, and as He hath put into our hearts, thus to devote ourselves to Him, Let him pity and pardon us our Frailtys, humble us out of all our Carnal Confidences, and keep it forever upon our Hearts, to be faithful to Himself, and one another, for His Praise and our eternal Comfort.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

WILLIAM SAYER.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

JONATHAN LITTLEFIELD.

SAMUEL HILL.

JOSEPH HILL.

DANIEL LITTLEFIELD.

NATHANIEL CLARK.

THOMAS BOSTON.

NATHANIEL CLAYES.

JAMES ADAMS.

JEREMIAH STORER.



So far as can be determined from the knowledge that we have of these men, they constituted a substantial basis for a Christian church. Most of them had been recognized by the town as honest, useful citizens. As our Saviour said of Peter, it might be said of John Wheelright, that he was a rock on which this church was built.

The church being thus organized, the 29th day of October, 1701, was appointed for the ordination of Mr. Emery, and the churches of Newbury, Portsmouth, Dover, and York were invited to assist in the services of the occasion. We are unacquainted with any of the details of the proceedings on that interesting day. The solemnities were, undoubtedly, such as to awaken in the minds of the disciples a new and deep sense of the infinite importance of the Christian faith. An era was now to be ushered in, which was to be fruitful in the renovation of social life, and in the influence of the more durable principles with which religion inspires the heart. A church had been established, and the foundation laid for an abiding ministry of the word of God. Notwithstanding they had supported a minister during the greater part of the last half century, no church organization had been maintained among the people.

But now a sounder sentiment seems to have come over the public mind. Men began to have some appreciation of the value of education. The school-master was sought for, and a better civilization dawned upon the people. The church of Christ was established, and from that day to the present has exercised its benign influence in maintaining the order and peace of community, and thereby advancing its general welfare.

It will be seen that Joseph Storer, who was chairman of the committee for building the meeting-house, was not one of the original members of the church. Neither does it appear that he united with it during his life, though we know that he was a man of sound religious principles, and was addressed as deacon of this church. Our opinion is, that he was a member of the church at York, and one of its founders, and that he never transferred his connection to the church at Wells. This opinion is based on a letter of that distinguished divine, Rev. Samuel Moody. Though the letter contains nothing specially important or material to this history, we insert it entire, knowing that all such relics of this period have an interest to the historical student. From the address one would necessarily conclude that he was a member of the Wells church; but the record.





does not say so. It is directed as follows: "To Lieu<sup>t</sup> Joseph Storer, First Deacon of y<sup>e</sup> Church of CHRIST, At Wells."

"DEAR SIR. York, Feb. 19, 1722-3. It has been a trouble to me that, in all this long Visitation of sore affliction on your Family, especially on your own Person, I have not had the opportunity to wait upon you, because one part of my Latin School has been my Dayly Care all this Winter. I desire heartily to sympathize with you in your sorrows and grievous Pains; your so distressing confinement; especially in being debarred the liberty of seeing GOD in his sanctuary. The great Pains you both took for the enjoyment of Christ in his ordinances before your settlement at Wells, is still, when I consider it, as it was in the Time of it, an Evidence of your love to the Habitation of GOD'S House, Psal. 26: 8, & such may Pray in Faith, as it follows in y<sup>e</sup> next v. Gather not my Soul with sinners &c. In y<sup>e</sup> mean time it's better to love God's House when we can't go to it, than to go to it and not love it. You know very well for what it was that y<sup>e</sup> Good King Hezekiah desired to recover and live a little longer. Isaiah 38. And truly it's not much desirable to live, that we may get or keep or enjoy y<sup>e</sup> World, especially to stay out of Heaven for these poor things; but that we may recover strength and do service in our Places; and get our Evidences cleared; and see our Children settled; much more y<sup>e</sup> Church—for these & such like reasons, its desirable to live. Something may be done for God & his People, & our Family and Friends here, that we can't do in Heaven. And O how good is it to be put into y<sup>e</sup> furnace, though never so hot, that we may be refined and new moulded, and made vessels of Honor fit for y<sup>e</sup> Master's Use! And when the LORD shall see his children humbled, sanctified, made more Prayerful, more watchful, more abundantly fruitful in every Good Word and Work, by affliction, he will say, This rod was well bestowed! And who is there but would be rusty without frequent scouring? Yea God is but answering our Prayers in our sorest Trials. How oft have we begged for a more soft Heart, and tender conscience; that our Pride and Worldliness might be mortified. And is not this y<sup>e</sup> very Errand on which affliction comes? Yet no affliction for the present seems joyous, but Grievous. The Lord prepares for what is yet before us. God is very Angry with y<sup>e</sup> Countrey. Iniquity did never so abound: & does not the love of many wax cold? But these things were fore-



told. Mat. 24 : 12. And 'tis for our caution and comfort both, what our dear Savior adds, v. 13. But he that shall endure unto the End, y<sup>e</sup> same shall be saved. Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the Crown. James 1 : 12. How reviving is it to Realize, how these light afflictions, w<sup>ch</sup> are but for a moment, do work for us a far more exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory. 2 Cor. 4 : 17, w<sup>th</sup> what goes before & follows. But why do I mind you of these things that your thoughts are daily upon. May the spirit of Christ, not only bring to remembrance, but Comfort your Heart by his Word! The Comforter, you know, is promised for a time of affliction; and we must plead the promise as Jacob, Gen. 20 : 9 to y<sup>e</sup> 12, 24. Faith is all in all. I had fainted, says afflicted David, unless I had believed. Psal. 27 : 13. W<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> last words of w<sup>ch</sup> Psalm, I conclude. Wait on y<sup>e</sup> LORD, and be of good Courage, and he shall strengthen thy heart; Wait, I say, on the Lord.

I am Your Brother & servant,

S. MOODY."

It is added on the margin, "I would mind you of one thing, w<sup>ch</sup> I believe has not been forgotten by you, that God has in his distinguishing favour, lengthened your life after all that were laid in the foundation of this church are dead and Gone. To fill up every scrip of the paper, I would also mind M<sup>r</sup> Storer, that I can think of but one or two sisters, besides herself, yet living, who were left of Mr Dummer's Ch<sup>h</sup>. You will shortly be gathered with them y<sup>t</sup> are w<sup>th</sup> Christ. O Pray for us.

My Dear respects to M<sup>r</sup> Storer & Mr John. The Lord make y<sup>m</sup> all the Children: yea all Gods people of your Acquaintance truly thankful for his great mercy in sparing your Life."

We have endeavored to ascertain the principles on which this church was founded; but our labors have reached no satisfactory result. Josiah Littlefield, Jonathan Littlefield, Nathaniel Cloyes, and Nathaniel Clark were admitted to its privileges, by assenting to the covenant a month after this time. From this we infer that when they and others joined in the inauguration, they were not members of any Christian church. If so, was it consistent with the Congregationalism of the day, that men who were not members of any such





organization, should unite together and thus institute a church? Could those who were under no church covenant embody themselves, so as to be recognized as a body of disciples? We express no opinion on these questions; they belong to the theologian, rather than the historian.

But there is a more important mystery or obscurity hanging over this organization. It seems as if some relics of the early barbarism, which never recognized the right of woman to social equality, and the reverent respect of the other sex, had come down to this generation. We have, by many years' observation, been fully established in the opinion, that a church in which females are not a prominent part, would not be a very substantial auxiliary to the kingdom of Christ. We should think the race about as likely to extend itself without mothers, as a church, or household of faith, to prosper, when the mothers in Israel made no part of it. What a spectacle, to see fifteen men, month after month, surrounding the Lord's table, while their wives were excluded from any part in the sacred ordinance! Who does not know that the benign elements of our holy religion much more frequently find their home in the bosom of woman, than in the heart of man? And, who can believe, that none of the wives of these men, thus assuming superiority over the help-metres, provided for them by infinite goodness, were, at heart, as firm disciples of Jesus as their husbands? And yet not one of them is found, during the eight months following, in this holy communion! and then only one, for a whole year after! One widow was, indeed, admitted to the church two months after the installation. The whole aspect of the action of these men seems to indicate that they took to heart the postulate, that it was better for women to "show piety at home;" that an undue preponderance was given to some of St. Paul's advice, while a more important portion of it was unheeded.

No more than three of these wives came into the church till many years afterward. In the beginning of 1710, sixteen females had been admitted and twenty-five males, the church thus presenting a very marked contrast with the churches of the present day; in which, generally, a very small proportion are males. During the pastorate of Mr. Emery, there was but a moderate increase of members; in 1714, about twenty were added to the number; in other years, the additions were few.

We cannot infer the success or prosperity of a religious society at





this period, from the same evidence which would sustain such an inference at the present day. The whole town then constituted the parish; every man was bound by law to support congregationalism; and to attend public worship at the common church. No denominational divisions had yet sprung up, though occasionally some individual, impressed with the idea of the freedom of religious thought and action, ventured to utter his views openly, and exhort others to adopt them. There were no prayer meetings or parish conferences; certain lectures were recognized by law on week days; but the services were exclusively within the province of the minister. So that about the only means which we have of determining the prosperity of religion is by the number uniting with the church, or the number attending public worship. But the latter is very unreliable; many were found in the house of God on the Sabbath because they were obliged to be there. It was cheaper to go to meeting than to stay at home. There were always among the inhabitants those who were ready to complain of Sunday delinquents; so that no one could hope to escape from the penalty attached by law to the neglect of public worship. The people who lived in Kennebunk, on the Mousam and Kennebunk rivers, were required to travel six or seven miles to the meeting house, and frequently were subjected to fine and costs for non-attendance. It is thus impossible to form any well-grounded opinion of the success of Mr. Emery from the number of worshippers. As a general rule, whether the preaching was satisfactory or not, the main body of adults were in the house of God on the Sabbath.

As before stated, we have no means of determining Mr. Emery's moral or intellectual capabilities, as not a scrap of his writings has come down to us. There is some reason for the belief, that he did not require of his people more than they were able to bear. It is very manifest that he was of an honest and gentle temperament, ready to yield his rights for the sake of peace. Understanding the position of his people, and their poverty and distress consequent upon the last war, in 1716, he voluntarily relinquished all which was due him, being a large part of the amount allowed him as salary. This act was kindly reciprocated on the part of his people; and the next year they raised his salary to eighty pounds, and directed all the mill rents to be paid to him. They had built a study for his wife, in a former year, near the mill garrison, which was afterwards removed, for his own convenience, near to his house. Why it was



built for his wife we do not know. We have met with no evidence that she was much in the habit of study, or solitary meditation. At times, some interest in the material affairs of the society seems to have been awakened among the people; they were anxious to complete the meeting house, and passed many votes for that purpose, but they were too poor to carry them into effect, and in 1719 they were again remiss in paying his salary. Earnest religious men will not generally suffer slight obstacles to defeat good purposes. We think Mr. Emery did not wield the sword of the spirit with a great deal of power. During his ministerial life for twenty years, he seems to have had no difficulty with any of his people. A faithful and zealous preacher seldom goes on with his work year after year without hitting somebody, and excitement of some kind will almost inevitably follow plainly declared truth.

During the last years of his pastorate, some troublesome matters absorbed the attention of the church. But these affairs in no degree, we think, involved his character. The church were not always rigidly punctilious in their adhesion to the principles of the gospel; and as a part of his ministerial duty he was required to admonish and caution such as manifested propensities to forget their obligations. In such cases he may have been endowed with a peculiar faculty for rebuking the delinquent without offense. He evidently had the whole strength of the church with him. Both pastor and people were very charitable toward the infirmities of the race. Though small matters were sometimes magnified into great sins, the transgressor was readily forgiven on confession and repentance. One Hannah Boston had been a member of the church several years; but all her natural proclivities had not been subdued by the association. Some crotchets still lingered in her constitution; and she would at times astonish her fellow disciples by some strange fancy. She feigned herself to be the wife of Benjamin Preble. Whether this assumption was accompanied with any overt manifestations, we are not informed. But the church regarded it as a heinous misdemeanor. Mr. Emery summoned a meeting that the matter might be inquired into. She was also cited to appear before them and submit to examination. She obeyed the citation, appeared and confessed the charge; but manifested no contrition for it. No special determination was reached to censure, or suspend her from fellowship. But in the course of time she was in some way made to feel that she had been guilty of a





great transgression; and six months afterward she "made an open, penitential confession of her sin," and "was received again to the charity and communion of the church."

In the last year of his life, a more serious matter produced great trouble among the people, though not in any way affecting his pastoral fidelity. One of the deacons seems for a time to have forgotten his high responsibilities, to have manifested some wayward inclinations, not well harmonizing with the gentleness and fidelity which are expected of one whose church relationship was of so sacred a character. The aspect of the affair, we think, is by no means favorable to the deacon. It is apparent that selfish motives swayed him from his proper balance. He lived at the eastern end of the town, where the settlers were sparse and the lands unenclosed; so that his cattle might enjoy the freedom of grazing where they pleased. Great Hill probably afforded a very inviting pasturage, and he had appropriated it to his own use. Possibly he was not careful to maintain fences on his own lands. When he found the minister who lived so distant from the precinct in which his cattle were accustomed to roam, driving his stock so far to interfere with his assumed privileges, he was somewhat excited, and gave utterance to language not very respectful to Mr. Emery. Seeing these cattle from day to day enjoying the "fair pastures" upon which he had expected his own to feed, was a little more than his sensitive spirit could bear. His ire was aroused, and fostered by this daily exhibition, he was impelled to some manifestations not becoming the true disciple. He not only spoke unkindly of Mr. Emery, threatening that he would take care of his cattle, but carried his resentment to such an extent as to make no provision for the Lord's table on communion day, as was his duty. We can see not a shadow of an apology for his action in this regard. He seems, for the time, to have labored under some strange mania; not only treating the minister and church in a contemptuous and unchristian manner, but even disregarding the proprieties of public worship. His conduct became unendurable. The church exercised all possible lenity and forbearance toward him, leaving his whole demeanor for more than nine months to the adjudications of his own conscience. But forbearance, after so long a time, had ceased to be a virtue, and the power of the church was called into exercise, to deal with him in one of the ways marked out by Congregational regulations. He was summoned before them to re-



spond to charges of misconduct. After hearing the evidence it was unanimously determined that he deserved censure; and the duty of administering the rebuke was assigned to the pastor. As Mr. Emery was the person most deeply injured by the misconduct of the deacon, it would seem to have been entirely out of place in him to have been the agent for carrying the judgment of the church into effect. But so it was determined, and, as says the record, Feb. 12, 1723, it was "voted, *nemine contradicente*, that Deacon Thomas Wells be suspended from the communion of the church for his disorderly neglecting of his duty in not providing for the sacrament, June 3d, 1722; as also in expressing himself very indecently in affirming on May 24, 1722, to Mr. Emery that he said Wells was an overseer of the Haywards; as also affirming that Mr. Emery had driven his cattle for the sake of the grass which grew on the two Necks, viz. of Mousam and the Great Hill; as also for misbehavior in the church in the season of his being called to account by the church, and for contumacy in these things—and the above censure was then administered publicly on him per

SAMUEL EMERY."

This suspension from the church of his Master troubled him. His conscience took cognizance of his conduct, and having a long time suffered from its judgment, he was brought to repentance, and finally came back, like the prodigal son, and acknowledged his error, publicly making this confession: "Whereas I, Thomas Wells, a member of the Church in Wells, did some time past, in a time of sore temptation with me, omit my duty as Deacon, so far as to neglect making provision for the Lord's table; I freely confess my error to God, and the church, desiring forgiveness.

THOMAS WELLS.

WELLS, Oct. 21, 1724.

The church cheerfully forgave him, and "voted that his former acknowledgment relating to the offense for which he had been censured, shall be demolished together with all the papers referring to a controversy of some years standing last past, between the church of Wells aforesaid and said Deacon Wells, as also between the pastor and Deacon."

By this it would seem that he had previously made some acknowledgment, which was so qualified as not to be creditable to his Chris-





tian character. But though the church and the world may pardon transgression, and would blot it out from human remembrance, history can never be a party to such a proceeding. Men who make history can never expect it to be so ungrateful as to forget them.

Deacon Wells was a man of influence, and it was expedient that this unfortunate rupture should be healed. The churches in the vicinity were anxiously interested in it, fearing that it could not be reconciled. And the unexpected adjustment of it by the return and confession of the deacon, was a source of much joy to all the people.

Soon after this Mr. Emery removed to the Pool, where he died Dec. 1, 1724, aged 54. A town meeting was immediately called to consider what should be done in regard to the expenses of his funeral. It was voted to pay all the expenses of his last sickness and funeral; and to pay his widow, Tabitha Emery, ten pounds, "to procure for her a mourning suit of apparel." He had three sons and five daughters. How many survived him we cannot state. His widow died April 27, 1736. His dwelling house stood near the meeting house, where Capt. William Eaton has since lived. Several of his descendants remain in Wells. He was buried in the northeast corner of the cemetery near the parsonage house. He was the son of John Emery of Kittery, who was the son of John Emery of Newburyport. After the death of Mr. Emery, his widow was called upon for the records of the church. But she declined to deliver them, and they were thenceforth lost to the world.





## CHAPTER XX.

CLOSE OF THE WAR—PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE TOWN—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—WILLIAM LARRABEE—HOUSES BUILT IN KENNEBUNK—"GRANDFATHER POKE"—JOHN GILLESPIE—PLUM ISLAND—HARDING'S MILL—KENNEBUNK NAMED—TITLE TO THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE INHABITANTS—BOUNDARY BETWEEN WELLS AND KITTERY CONTROVERTED—COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY GENERAL COURT TO SETTLE THE LINE—POUNDS AND IMPOUNDING—SCHOOLS—TEACHERS, MARTIN, TREADWELL, LYNN, AND LEDYARD—CLAIMS OF DANIEL AND SIMON EPPES OF TITLE TO KENNEBUNK—SECOND ATTEMPT TO MANUFACTURE TAR—CAPE PORPOISE RE-ORGANIZED UNDER THE NAME OF ARUNDEL—FIRST BRIDGE OVER KENNEBUNK RIVER—IMMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

It may well be supposed, that while the war with the Indians was raging, very little attention would be given to town affairs not immediately connected with it; and thence there must necessarily be but little for historical record. When all the thoughts of the people were directed to the means of protection against the inroads of the savages, other matters connected with the progress, social and civil interests of the town, were unheeded. The war had now ostensibly reached its end.

But the desolations which it had brought to almost every family in town could not fail to have their influence on the energies of the inhabitants; yet, notwithstanding this depression, and the want of faith in the stability of the peace which had been declared, the people gave themselves to the work of restoring their farms, and projecting new enterprises of activity and profit. From this period, though new wars soon followed, a steady progress of the settlement has been maintained down to the period when this history ends. Some encouragement to fix the thoughts and awaken exertion to renew and enlarge the settlement, came from the fact, that Wells had become, and was established by law, a shire town. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas having been created in 1699, was to be holden here



semi-annually. Samuel Wheelright was appointed one of the judges; but he very soon died. There is no doubt that such an attachment to the franchise of a town gives to it some prestige favorable to future growth; and the settlement now started under more favorable auspices than at any previous time. During the whole of this war the necessary town action was maintained. Meetings were holden, officers chosen, and financial matters attended to. It was even voted to seat the meeting-house; so that now no extraordinary measures were required for the regulation of municipal affairs. Some of the mills were in operation, even in the midst of the struggle for protection and life. The two mills at Maryland were favored by a reduction of their annual rent, the upper of one-half, and the lower of two-thirds. The other mills were not relieved at all. How they could have pursued business to any advantage, we are left entirely to conjecture. At times, through the aid of their scouts, the people felt some confidence that the enemy had left their vicinity; but any trust of that character must have been exceedingly hazardous. The Indian could issue from the wilderness anywhere. He might travel through its darkest recesses all the way from Penobscot to Wells, and here first show himself. This confidence in their personal safety was not cherished by all. Samuel Cole, one of the owners of the Great Falls saw-mill, the best property in the town in a time of peace, sold out his part of it to John Wheelright. Other transfers of a similar character, from a distrust of Indian faith, were made; but now that the war was over, and grants were made more liberal in their conditions, the time for fulfilling the obligations to make improvements was, in some cases, extended to two, or five years. They were also subject to another peculiar condition; that no grantee should hinder any other townsman from cutting and carrying away from his land any timber of which he might have need. Growing trees at this period were, indeed, of no great value to the owner or land; and he might not suffer any material injury from having them removed; but we do not see how such a license could fail in producing much trouble in subsequent years. In 1713, a grant of two hundred acres was made to William Sayer, Jeremiah Storer, Thomas Wells, and Nicholas Cole, adjoining their mill at Little river, "on condition that they do not hinder any of the freeholders or inhabitants of the town cutting and carrying away any timber whatever."





WILLIAM LARRABEE, one of the most energetic and fearless defenders of the town, as soon as the war closed, took a grant of land on the Mousam river, three or four miles from the settlement at Wells. He was a man of great fortitude and resolution. In the midst of the war, March 30, 1706, he had secured to himself a help-mate by a conjugal union with Catharine Adams, and now came to Kennebunk as almost the pioneer of the settlement, there being no occupied dwelling-house near the center of the town, or the site of the present village. The Harding house, near the mouth of Kennebunk river where Samuel Gooch formerly lived, may have survived the ravages of the war. In a former manuscript history of Kennebunk, we stated that this house was built by Stephen Harding. We think this statement was erroneous. The land, to the extent of six hundred acres, a mile on the river, covering all the territory of the village at the Port, from the sea upward, was granted to George Butland, whose house, we are inclined to believe, was the first on this spot. Butland sold his grant to James Littlefield, whose daughter married Stephen Harding, who afterwards occupied this house. To distinguish the place, we have called it Hardings, in other parts of this work. This house was taken down about a hundred years since. The cellar is still visible. The house built by John Sanders near the mouth of the Mousam river, may have survived the desolations of the war. Larrabee built his house in 1714. It stood on the point of land about forty rods below the Roundabout, on the eastern side of the river. It was a small tenement, and built of timber. The same year a house was built by John Looke, a short distance below Larrabee's, on the point of upland afterwards called Butland's ship-yard, and the next year, one by Thomas Wormwood, about forty rods below. These two last-named were garrison houses. Palisades were built around them with large timber, as high as the eaves of the house, and sufficiently far from it to allow room for work in the intervening space. These walls were probably not built till a few years afterward, when a renewal of the war was apprehended. The Harding house was also protected in the same manner. This house, from its location near the beach, the principal highway for travelers, was then very necessary for the public accommodation. Beside the custom of those who were passing on the land to different parts of the Province, east and west, the occupants had occasion to entertain many who came



into the river in coasters. It was but a one-story building, but people did not then expect the conveniences and comforts which mark the age in which we live.

A few years after Larrabee located himself on the Mousam river, others took up lands below, nearer the sea, and in the vicinity of the public travel. A small house was built in 1721 or 1722, by John Webber, a little below the house of Owen Wentworth, on the opposite side of the road; and a small two-storied house by Richard Boothby, where the house of Robert S. Smith now stands. A house was also built on what has since been called Gillespie's Point, being the land which projected into the sea from the eastern end of Great Hill. This was in the first days of the settlement called the Great Neck, afterwards Grandfather's Neck, on account of the occupant, Ephraim Poke, who was called Grandfather Poke, not, we suppose, because he was an old man, for he was just married in 1731, to Miss Margaret McLean. In attempting to ford the river a few years afterward when the tide was higher than he had supposed, he was drowned, as was also his horse. His widow moved to Saco where she died. The neck was subsequently occupied by Nathaniel Spinney; and then by John Gillespie. After he took possession of it, it took the name of Gillespie's Point. The sea has been gradually encroaching upon it from time immemorial; and when it was so far reduced by its ravages as to make it certain that the foundation of the house would soon be reached, he abandoned it and moved to the village. It is now so far reduced, as at high water to be but a small island. All along the shore from the Kennebunk river to Ogunquit, the same encroachment has been made upon the lands bordering upon the ocean. Off the Ogunquit river about the time of which we are speaking, 150 years ago, a mile from the shore, was a small spot of land called Plumb Island, overgrown with bushes, to which people resorted sometimes to pick blueberries. But the little isle has long since succumbed to the power of the ocean, and now the fisherman casts his line or his net over the identical spot where the settlers picked their berries.

In 1718, the lumber business being so profitable, Harding the owner of the little outlet of Lake Brook, in ancient times called Lauson's Creek, now called Gooch's Creek, built upon it a saw-mill. It was not very efficient in consequence of the small water power on which it depended. But the timber was very abundant in its immediate vicini-





ty, and no expense was necessary for the transportation of the lumber sawed. Vessels could come up very near the mill. Some few settlers had located themselves on the opposite side of the river, and coasters began to come in from the west for the lumber; but in consequence of the slow working of the mill it was not found sufficiently profitable to justify its continuance. The business of selling timber was more lucrative than that of manufacturing boards, and after ten or fifteen years the mill was abandoned.

These are all the houses or buildings of which we have any knowledge previous to the fourth, or Lovell's Indian war. Sayward's house, appurtenant to the mills had disappeared, having, as is supposed, been destroyed by fire at the same time with the other buildings; so that nearly the whole territory of that part of Wells was yet a dense wilderness. Previously to this period no particular designation was given to the land between the rivers Mousam and Kennebunk, but from the year 1717, the name Kennebunk was applied to it; there being on it a sufficient number of houses to render necessary a distinction from the Wells village.

The time had now arrived when the inhabitants of Wells began to think that they had rights in the territory of the town; which strangers ought not to be permitted to come in and share, without rendering to them, exclusively, some equivalent. They had struggled through the most terrible conflicts, to maintain their hold upon it, and they were not disposed to yield to others, without compensation, rights and privileges which they had secured by their labors and the blood of many of their companions; and at a town meeting holden on the twentieth day of March, 1716, they voted that "the right and property of all the common and undivided lands within the said township, doth belong to, and forever hereafter shall be and remain unto the persons hereafter mentioned and their heirs, forever, in proportion according to their interest in the town, to be disposed of and improved according to the directions of the law in that case made and provided."

Col. John Wheelright.

Mr. Samuel Emery.

Mr. Jacob Hammond.

Mr. Joseph Storer.

Capt. Joseph Hill.

Mr. Nathaniel Clark.

Mr. Joseph Wheelright.

Mr. John Butland.

Mr. George Butland.

Mr. Samuel Stewart.





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|-----------------------------|---|
| Mr. Jonathan Littlefield.   | Mr. James Boston.                                 |
| Mr. Daniel Littlefield.     | Mr. Nathaniel Cloyes.                             |
| Mr. William Sayer.          | The heirs to the estate of John Cloyes, deceased. |
| Mr. Dependence Littlefield. | Mr. John Harmon.                                  |
| Mr. Samuel Hatch.           | Mr. Stephen Harding.                              |
| Mr. Nicholas Cole.          | Mr. Zachariah Goodall.                            |
| Mr. Francis Sayer.          | Mr. Moses Stevens.                                |
| Mr. David Littlefield.      | The Heirs to the estate of Benjamin Gooch, dec'd. |
| Mr. Joseph Littlefield.     | The Heirs to the estate of Daniel Sayer dec'd.    |
| Mr. Ezekiel Knight.         | The Heirs to the estate of Thomas Boston dec'd.   |
| Mr. John Wells.             | The Heirs to the estate of William Parsons dec'd. |
| Mr. Jeremiah Storer.        | Mr. Thomas Wells.                                 |
|                             | Mr. Samuel Hill."                                 |

No one familiar with the labors and struggles of the brave men of Wells, during the long and afflictive wars through which they had passed, can fail to sympathize with them in their judgment that these lands ought to be all their own. But what is equitable in all good conscience, is not always legal. We have carefully examined this vote but have been unable to find any sound basis for it. If any right existed in the inhabitants of the town to these lands, it was in their corporate capacity, and not as individuals, and every man who thereafter became an inhabitant, by virtue of his inhabitancy, became a proprietor in common with others previously dwelling within its limits. If the lands of the town were vested in the residents as individuals, then many others who had fallen in the wars or who had died before this vote was adopted, were also owners in common of the soil, and their interests descended to their heirs; and no action of the town, or of individuals, could divest them of their rights. We are uninformed when the title upon which they relied as a basis of this vote, accrued. Not one of these persons who thus undertook to divide up this territory among themselves, was an inhabitant at the time of the incorporation, and we know of no action by the government, or any proprietary afterwards, which invested those



living in the town with any other real estate title, than that of the land which they severally occupied. So far as we have been enabled to understand this procedure, it was based on the inhabitancy of about the year 1700. All who were then townsmen were regarded as invested with common rights; but for what reason we do not know. In those days men were not very punctilious as to strict law; they did many things which would not find much countenance in the jurisprudence of subsequent years. For example: we should judge there was some little arrogance in the following vote, passed about a month afterwards; on the 15th of May following, when gathered together at the meeting-house, it was "then voted that this be a legal town meeting to do town business, for choosing men to address the General Court relating to the township." Rather a summary mode of legalizing a meeting, and establishing its action as that of the town. If a company of men can vote themselves, without further or previous ceremony, to be invested with municipal powers, binding upon all whom they may affect, we are inclined to the belief that such an assumption would not do much for the promotion of peace or social progress among the people.

A controversy now arose with the town of Kittery in regard to the boundary between the towns. It will be remembered that the territory of the Berwicks, and also of Eliot, was a part of Kittery, and of course that town bounded on Wells. In 1655 the line between the two towns was run by a committee consisting of Joseph Bolles, John Littlefield, and William Hammond, on the part of Wells, and Humphrey Chadbourne, and Richard Nason, and Anthony Emery on the part of Kittery, which was settled by them and concurred in by the towns. This line began at the head bounds of York, at a marked tree near York pond, and ran on a straight course to Baker's spring, and from thence "to the head bounds of the great river of Newicewanock." It was then agreed that both towns should engrave their names on the rock at Baker's spring, and on the tree started from.

It would seem that after this there could be no question as to where the bounds were; but hitherto there had been no settlement in the vicinity of the line, and more than fifty years had elapsed since it was run. The inhabitants now began to locate their grants in this neighborhood. Daniel Littlefield had laid out some grants near the spring, embracing some of the Tatnick marshes, having the right to





cut logs for the use of the mill, which he had erected on a branch of the Ogunquit river. Locations had probably been made by inhabitants of Kittery in the same neighborhood, and a quarrel arose between the adjoining proprietors, as not unfrequently happens between the grasping owners of contiguous lands. The inhabitants of Kittery chose a committee to run the line, first notifying Wells of their intention to do so. Wells accordingly chose Nicholas Cole, Daniel Littlefield, and Joseph Hill, to meet with them for the purpose. They accordingly met, on the sixteenth of July, 1716, at the head of York, where Kittery joined Wells, and started from this place, on a w. n. w. course, to Baker's spring, which was admitted to be a true monument, and all readily concurred in this line. It would seem that there should have been no difficulty in completing the perambulation; but when the Wells committee proposed to start onward in their business and finish the survey of the line, the Kittery commissioners refused to proceed, and forbade the Wells commissioners to go any further. Upon what ground they claimed to act in this abrupt manner the records give us no light. They insisted that Wells had no right to any of the territory beyond the rock; that all above belonged to Kittery; that the Wells commissioners had no business, and should not go there. This was a bold assumption on the part of the Kittery commissioners, as it seems to us now. The line had been run, and acquiesced in, more than a half century. After an exciting controversy, the commissioners of Wells came to the conclusion that there was no alternative, but to abandon the undertaking and report the facts to the town; but Wells was not disposed to brook such insolence from the town of Kittery. There were among the inhabitants men of nerve and self respect, who were ready for any conflict involving the rights of the town; and Daniel Littlefield was chosen agent to prosecute any one who should trespass on the disputed territory. Littlefield may have had a personal interest in this question. The town also chose William Sayer as agent to apply to the General Court, for an order directing the line to be run. An order was granted, giving authority to fix and establish it. Joseph Hill, Nicholas Cole, and Daniel Littlefield were again appointed a committee, and went on, renewed and settled the line, making report to the Legislature, in which the line was established to run "from a certain pitch pine tree standing at the south-east end of Bonnepeague pond, south by east, 20 45 ms., 4 miles and



40 poles to Baker's spring." So the town of Kittery "took nothing by their motion."

But, as with many other facts which appear in the records of a past age, there is something inexplicable in this whole proceeding on the part of Kittery. It seems to us that at this time Kittery had nothing to do with this line. Berwick was incorporated in 1713, three years before this attempt at running it took place. Kittery did not then join Wells; its limits being several miles from it. The boundary was a matter concerning Wells and Berwick alone; Kittery had no more to do with it than with the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise. We must infer, therefore, that there is a deficiency in our knowledge of all the circumstances of the case.

In 1714 the town voted to build a new pound; where the previous one stood is unknown. In 1645 it was required that every town should build and maintain a pound; and these inclosures were to be found in every place, down to the present century; in many, they were continued till within a very few years. As some of our readers have never seen one of these inclosures, we will briefly state, that they were generally built of timber or stones, and in later years, with frame and plank slats. They were from six to eight feet high, and from thirty to fifteen feet square; with no covering of any kind for protection amidst the severest storms; generally they were located near the meeting-house. A pound keeper was chosen annually, whose duty it was to receive all the animals not entitled to the freedom of the town, which were driven to him by the hayward, having been found making use of the public highway, or in the inclosure of some person other than their owners; and to retain them in the pound until such owners should pay the fine and all expenses, and take them away. There was no special law requiring them, like some other animals, to be fed on bread and water; but they were kept in solitary confinement on very lean fare. Public notice was to be given at the next lecture, of the impounding, with such a description of the animals as would be necessary to identify them to the owner. For example, if one of Thomas Cole's swine should be thus impounded, the minister, in giving his notices, as is usual before reading the hymn, would state, that a hog was taken up in the highway and impounded, having a square piece cut off from the off ear on the under side, and a slit on the top of the near ear; or if Judge Wheelright's sheep were the captives, it would be a flock of sheep with a slit on





the top of the ear, and the under part cut out. They did not hesitate to maim their stock for the purposes of identification. Hogs had the liberty of the town, being licensed to go where they pleased, on the condition, if they were old enough to be capable of evil, that they wore a ring in the nose, according to a vote of the town in 1698, that "all swine, above a year old, shall be sufficiently ringed from April 10th to Oct. 10th."

In the progress of civilization this matter has ceased to be a subject of town action. We now hear nothing of pounds or impounding. Though the law remains on our statute book substantially as it was two centuries ago, it has become a dead letter. Like the stocks and the ducking-stool, the pound has disappeared from our precincts. The last in Wells was on the town lot, and in Kennebunk on the cemetery lot, opposite the Methodist church; and for a few years afterwards, on the opposite side of the road, near the saw-mill.

During the short breathing-time between Queen Anne's and Lovell's war, the great subject of schools seems first to have suggested itself to the attention of the people. They had lived here fifty years, and children had been born and grown to manhood, without instruction in the common rudiments of education. Though the law required that the town should now maintain a grammar school, as it contained more than fifty families, even the lowest grade of instruction had not yet been provided for. Many of the population could neither read, write nor cipher. The minister, Samuel Emery, was the only person who had received a college education. He could not have failed to appreciate the importance of schools, and we presume his influence was now brought to bear with force upon his people, in regard to a matter involving so materially the best interests of the town. During the perils of the wars, children could not have been trusted to attend school at any considerable distance from their homes; and in fact, no school could have been safely kept. But there was not a school-house in town, and if any provision had been made by private persons for the instruction of their children, it must have been at some of the dwelling houses; though there is good reason for the belief, that down to this period, no school of any kind had been maintained. The evidence shows, that with a very few exceptions, the most influential had grown up with little or no intellectual culture. Books for instruction were not found in the houses of any of the inhabitants. But now, March 20, 1715, it was voted





"that the selectmen use their endeavor to procure a school-master for the town at the town's charge, not exceeding £20 per annum and his diate; and to have the school a quarter of the year at a time near each end of the town and the other half of the year near the middle of the town." It will be remembered that the two ends were then, west, beyond the Ogunquit, and east, near Cole's corner. Kennebunk was not sufficiently settled to be noticed as a material part of the town. Not more than five or six families lived within what are its present limits. At this time it was with much difficulty that school-masters could be obtained; and especially was this the case when no larger sum was offered for their services than that named in the foregoing vote. It does not appear that the selectmen met with any success in their efforts for this purpose, or that they made any special exertions to accomplish it. In 1716 the town was indicted for not having a schoolmaster. This had the effect of awakening the people to a sense of their duty in this respect. Mr. Richard Martyn, we suppose the son of the former minister, was engaged for the service. He was an educated man, having graduated at Harvard College in 1680. The profession of a teacher was about as profitable as that of the minister. The remuneration appears to us to be small; but as his "diate" was added to it, the income would be about as much as his. But it did not satisfy Mr. Martyn and he demanded higher pay, and the next year the town voted, "that thirty pound for one year be paid Mr. Martyn schoolmaster, and his entertainment by a rate proportioned on the several inhabitants within the town, to be paid quarterly; year to begin on this 10th of October instant, on condition that said Richard Martyn perform the work of schoolmaster, on the usual and accustomed hours and seasons of keeping school, and to teach all such youth and children, both boys and girls, to read, rite and sifer, or Latin, according to their capacity, belonging to the town, that are sent seasonable to him; the school to be kept, the first quarter at Col. John Wheelright's house; the 2d Quarter to Mr. Daniel Littlefield's house (near Ogunquit river), and the remaining half year near the middle of the town, near the Meeting House." The persons with whom Mr. Martyn diates to be paid six shillings per week, during the term of time exprest." His services seem to have given satisfaction to the people, for the next year they offered him £45. But the position was not very desirable and he did not choose to accept it. In 1717, the town voted that the



selectmen should "endeavor to agree with Charles Treadwell to keep a free school for a year; but not to give him more than they had paid Martyn." Treadwell was not an educated man. Whether he took the school or not, the record does not show. If he did, he continued in charge of it but a little while, for in September they voted that "John Lynn should be their schoolmaster for one quarter of a year," at the same wages paid Martyn.

Such was the introduction of school instruction in Wells, and from this period we feel that we are speaking of a different race of men. The interest of the children in their studies naturally awakened an interest in their parents, and may have induced them to give some attention to study. Children are sometimes the most effectual instructors. Their questionings are frequently strongly suggestive to parents. The interest which had been awakened in the town did not die out. The people persevered in the maintainance of schools even during the war which followed. Nicholas Ledyard of Salem was the schoolmaster several years. We have thought that he may have been the father of the famous traveller, John Ledyard.

In addition to the causes which we have before named, as delaying the settlement of Kennebunk, another we think may be found in the doubt which existed as to the title to the land. Great excitement now prevailed in consequence of notice from Daniel Eppes of Salem and Simon Eppes of Ipswich, of their determination to enforce their rights to the territory of Kennebunk, or to that part of it which lies between the Kennebunk and Mousam rivers. Their claim was founded on a deed of John and Robert Wadley, made to them in 1659, in which they convey to Daniel Eppes and Simon Eppes, "as purchased by them of the Indians, who were the true proprietors thereof, as does most clearly and evidently appear by the deed of sale made by the said Indians unto the said Wadleigh, and also sufficiently attested unto, being all the land between Cape Porpoise river and Kennebunk river, the land only excepted that lyeth in possession of Butland, David Pearce, Mr. William Symonds and John Cheater, from the sea-wall between Cape Porpoise and Kennebunk river, so to the Great Falls that are upon Cape Porpoise river, which are by estimation about seven or eight miles from the sea."

On the receipt of this notice of the intention of these men to prosecute their claim, a town meeting was called Sept. 11, 1719, "then and there to adjutate and debate what may be done in that





matter concerning Major Eppes laying claim to the land laying between Kennebunk river and Little river." This notification implies a much larger claim than can be established by the Indian deed. It may be that there is error in the record. At the meeting holden only four days after the issue of the warrant, it was voted to defend against any suit brought against any inhabitant, founded on the Indian deed, and Francis Sayer was chosen to notify the Wadleys to that effect. But the claimants were not to be bluffed off by this vote of the town, and the next year instituted their suit to recover the lands. What was the nature of their defense to the claim does not appear in any record to which we have had access. But we are aware that no possession had been had by these claimants for more than sixty years; neither do they seem to have done any act indicating ownership; neither had they done anything to maintain the civil authority over it during the long and severe Indian wars. Yet we have been unable to discover from these facts any just defense on the part of the town. In regular town meeting Sept. 2, 1676, the record says, "After serious debate of matters have generally acted and do hereby conclude that there be a humble petition drawn up to his Majesty in his name, earnestly supplicating his Majesty's favor, petition and conformation of the propriety of lands which we honestly bought of the Indians," etc. Here is a plain avowal of the source of their title, and how was the Indian title acquired? By this deed of Thomas Chabinocke, the Sagamore of Wells, to the two Wadleys, and by no other, though we are unable to see, in this transfer of the Indian title to them, how any benefit could enure to the town of Wells. The fee was in them—and it ill became the inhabitants, who had in their petition to the king set up this deed as the foundation of their right, now to ignore it when operating against them. Corporations have no more license to be dishonest than individuals. We are compelled to say, therefore, that this whole proceeding of the town was far from being creditable to them. We think the people came to the same conclusion, for in a month afterward they settled and adjusted the claim, by giving to the Eppses a grant of a mile square between the Mousam and Kennebunk river, or Mousam and Little river, wherever they could find it, free of any grant theretofore made by the town; and to John Wadley a grant of two hundred acres adjoining that of Epps'.

In 1718 an attempt was made to renew the business of manufac-



turing tar. Two men, Judah Paddock and Henry Marsh, came to Wells, and asked for the privilege of using the pitch pine knots, or candle-wood, as it was called, birch, etc., which were found so extensively through the town, for this purpose. The right was granted of taking all necessary materials from any of the lands between the Mousam and Branch rivers, from the sea up to the Mousam path. This whole land, we think, to this day, is full of roots, knots, and other vegetable relics, which would well subserve this important object. For all tar manufactured, they were to pay to the town eighteen pence a barrel. The work was required to be done on the land. We have not been able to ascertain what degree of success attended this enterprise. The ground which they were at liberty to occupy was an entire wilderness, and the apprehensions of another Indian war must, in a few years, have led them to abandon a business which they could not safely pursue so far removed from all assistance, and from refuge to the garrisons.

There is no doubt that in the territory of Wells and Kennebunk ample provision has been made by creating wisdom, to call into exercise the philosophy and energies of the people. Material for wealth and industry is buried in the lands of many of the inhabitants, who have never dreamed of the riches there awaiting development. We have abundance of peat, rosin, iron, and probably we are not wanting in some more valuable portions of the mineral kingdom. We may have to go deep into the earth to reach the stores; but at some future time they will be brought to light; we only need enterprising, scientific men to open up these resources.

The brief period which has occupied our attention in this chapter, is an important one in the history of the Province. The ravages of war were again everywhere visible. Destruction of mills, houses, and villages marked the track of the Indian scouts. Most of the buildings had been burnt, and towns which had had but an infant existence, were swept from the face of the earth. Wells alone had sustained itself against all the assaults of the enemy. Cape Porpoise, the adjoining town, was completely destroyed; hardly sufficient tokens of the work of civilization remaining, to entitle it to be regarded as a town; but now the work of renovation was going on all over the Province. Men were returning to the rescue of the unfortunate villages, from the destruction which had overtaken them.





Houses were rebuilt, farms restored to order, mills were rising again on the banks of all the rivers, and an enterprising and industrious spirit was busy in devising and preparing the means of renovation. All seemed to go into the work with a will. This general impulse to the activities of business might have had its origin in some measure, in an auxiliary act of the Legislature, which provided for the issue of bills of credit or loans to the people, on furnishing the security of a mortgage of their farms. Many of them had lost everything else by the war, and were thus unable to do anything toward rebuilding their houses. This immediate supply must have furnished very efficient aid in the work of reconstruction. The money was offered to towns, but Wells did not vote to accept any portion of it. How much was received by individual inhabitants cannot be ascertained. The county of Yorkshire received a hundred thousand pounds, and we can have no doubt that some of the townsmen who had suffered severely were thus helped. Cape Porpoise must have availed itself of the benefit of this legislative benevolence. That town was rebuilt, and reorganized as a corporation, and took to itself the name of Arundel. Wells, bordering upon it, was inspired with new zeal, by the encouragement which it afforded, of strength and aid, in the event of a renewal of Indian hostilities. A great many grants of land were made, and the prospect of an enlargement of its borders, and a substantial increase of its population, was very animating to the settlers. The rapid renewal of the villages eastward, and the consequent rapid increase of travel, demanded increased facilities for transportation. Though a road had been laid out the "upper way," as it was then termed, from Wells to Saco, no provision had been made, or enforced, for the immediate erection of bridges. The roads were generally located so as to pass the rivers at some convenient wading-place; that to Saco passed where it now does over the Kennebunk river; but the people demanded a more convenient way of passing it than by fording; and the town, in 1772, was indicted for not building a bridge. Such a judicial admonition in those days was not disregarded; and consequently this bridge was then built, being the first on Kennebunk river.

In 1720 an accession to the population of the town was made by the immigration and settlement of several persons from Ireland. Some of these were ancestors of valuable citizens now living among





us. Thomas Boothby, Henry Boothby, and William Jepson came from Magwater; Andrew Simington and George Simington came from Strabarre; Thomas Gillpatrick and Robert Page from Donathkeedy; John Ross, from Sligo; and Bryce McLellan from Balymony. They brought wives and families with them. Anne Weer came also as one of the company. These all became good and valuable citizens.



## CHAPTER XXI.

LOVEWELL'S WAR—INDIAN RAIDS—VARIOUS PERSONS KILLED—SERGEANT LARRABEE'S GARRISON—DEATH OF CAPT. FELT AND OTHERS—DESTRUCTION OF NORRIDGEWOCK—SOLDIERS FROM WELLS—INDIAN COWARDICE—WHEEL-RIGHT'S EXPEDITION TO LOVELL'S POND—ATTACK UPON THE DURRELL FAMILY—INDIANS RESIDENT AT WELLS—THEIR CHARACTERISTICS—AMBEREUSE—INDIAN POW-WOW—LIST OF INHABITANTS IN 1726—JOSEPH STORER.

As we have stated in the preceeding chapter, at the close of the Indian war in 1713, the confidence of the people in a continued peace, led them to more freedom in selecting sites for habitation. Previously they had been impelled by the constant fear of renewed hostilities, to secure to themselves house lots as near to the principal settlement as possible. But now they had ventured to look to the eligibility of such lots in themselves, disregarding in some measure those extrinsic considerations, which had prevented them from selecting sites best adapted to meet the demands of life. They had built houses on the Mousam river, and at the eastward of Great Hill, where the Wentworths and Boothbys now live, and also at Merryland, and were commencing anew and rapidly advancing the settlement of the town, with the fair promise of a quiet and peaceful pursuit of their agriculture and other employments. But the war-whoop was again heard in various parts of the Province, and the inhabitants were admonished to new precautions for their protection. They were not to be driven from their little farms; but set about building stockades to their houses. It did not require bulwarks like those which modern civilization has made necessary, to defend against the attacks of enlightened skill. Walls of timber, or palisades, were a sufficient protection against any armory which the Indian could bring to bear upon them. The houses of Look, Wormwood, Harding, and perhaps others, were guarded in this way. It seems to us of the present age to have been almost a reckless resolution of these few men, here to face the brunt of a savage war; but





their all was in the houses which they had built, which, if abandoned, would surely be committed to the flames; and beside, they were led to believe, that the tribes alone were to be concerned in this new aggression upon the Province; and they thence felt that here, in the western part of it, they might escape its terrors. Although the French abjured any, and all, agency in fomenting dissatisfaction with the Indians, and stirring them up to war, yet it is as certain as almost any fact in history, that they were continually instigating them to their work of cruelty and desolation; but as they had no open hand in the warfare, the Indians were too feeble, of themselves, to protract it for a great length of time. The war commenced in 1722. Its opening act sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of these brave men of Wells. Nine families were taken at one time at Merry Meeting bay; more than the whole number at this time living on the territory of Kennebunk, which might at any moment be attacked. Assaults had also been made on the fort at St. George's river, and on other places; soon their ravages were extended to the adjoining towns. One man had been killed in Berwick; but winter coming on, the foe retreated, and quiet again prevailed in the houses of the settlers.

In the spring (1723) the Indian scouts were again abroad; on the eleventh of May, one Parsons, and one Randall, were killed at Berwick; and on the same day Daniel Low, who lived in Merryland, was killed; and the saw-mill on Little river, belonging to Nicholas Cole and others, was burnt. Two young men were also killed while going from Wells to York. Just after, Benjamin Major was killed in Arundel, and a saw-mill on Kennebunk river (we suppose Storer's) was burnt. About the same time other persons were killed in Berwick and Saco. Aug. 27, Mr. Jepsum was captured, and afterward murdered. He was at the saw-mill at Mousam for some special purpose, and probably alone. Such was the terror inspired by the savage outrages, that he remained here unburied a fortnight, when Joseph Hill and about twenty others, prepared for the purpose, came here, and interred him. His bones probably lie in the field not far from the house of Jefferson W. Sargent. Three or four more were killed in Arundel, before the close of the year; though the winter following the Indians did not cease from their incursions, as was their custom, but continued their raids upon Berwick, and some places east.

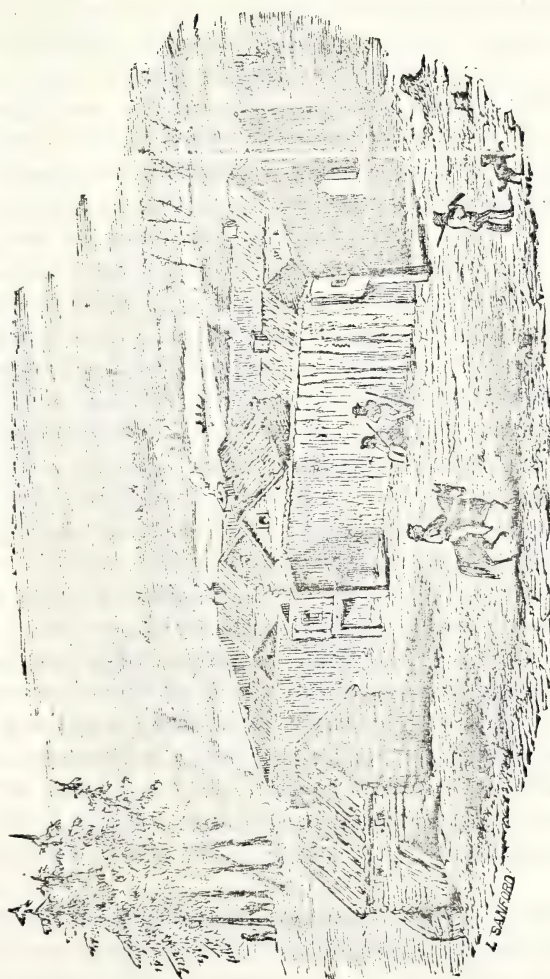
The people had been so accustomed in the former war to the perils



which continually beset them, that they had now become careless, and did not exercise that precaution which was necessary to personal safety. Many of the murders which occurred were the result of imprudence. Lieut. Governor Dummer being informed of this dangerous temerity, wrote to John Wheelright, directing him to "charge the people within the district of your regiment, to be very careful when they go into the fields not to expose themselves by going out weak and without arms; but that they associate in their work in parties of ten or a dozen men, well armed, keeping a centinel with their guns; and I desire you forthwith to acquaint all the garrisons as far as Capt. Heath's, at Richmond, to keep a watchful guard at this frontier." If such admonitions had been properly regarded the Indians would have been far less successful in their incursions. But men inured to danger will frequently become fool-hardy. Many fell in this war, who, had they exercised due prudence, would never have been its victims; but there were men at this time of sound discretion and unflinching courage, who were always on the lookout. Among these was Sergeant Stephen Larrabee, son of William Larrabee; he had been bred to danger, and could look it calmly in the face when necessary; we shall speak more particularly of him in another place. He saw the necessity of preparing for these raids, and endeavoring to protect the few men who were pioneers with him in the wilderness of Kennebunk; and also of providing a refuge for others from the eastward, who might be obliged to flee from their homes, and planned a grand fort at his house on the Mousam river. We have before spoken of his father's house. He built a garrison or fort, covering an acre of ground; timber was abundant, and close at hand. The walls were of large, square timber, about fourteen feet high. The structure was in the form of a parallelogram; it fronted southeast, or down the river. On the four corners were four flankers; so projecting that the person within might have a view of any operations without, on the side, and one end of the fort; they were in an angular shape, with a kind of port-hole in the angle, but not sufficiently large for a person to enter. There was also on the lower side a large flanker, in the style and fashion of a portico, though built, as were the others, six feet from the ground; so that one could pass directly under it. There were three gates, one at each end, and one on the side of the fort flanker. Within the walls were five houses; that of Sergeant Larrabee was very large, wide, and of one story, and stood in the







SERGEANT LARRABEE'S GARRISON.





center of the fort; in the north corner was the house of Edward Evans; in the eastern, that of Ebenezer Bayridge. The other two, one being at the western, and the other at the southern end, were occupied by Nathan Morrison and the soldiers which were stationed there under his command; and also by such persons as found refuge here from the neighborhood, on the occasion of an alarm, or whenever it was known that the Indians were in the vicinity. All the houses were of one story, having, as they were called in those days, block windows; that is, merely square holes, to let in the air and light, which might be blocked up in a moment, to protect the inmates from outward danger. Most of the houses at this period were lighted with similar windows; they were about a foot square; some had thick, substantial shutters, others were provided with blocks. At the northeastern end of the garrison, just before the gate, was the house of Samuel and Anthony Littlefield; it was built of logs, and was the same previously built and occupied by William Larrabee. In this entire structure, exclusive of the dwelling houses, must have been used at least thirteen thousand cubic feet of timber; it was a great work for the small number of men who were engaged in it; how long time was occupied in its erection, or when it was commenced, or when finished, we cannot state. Of its splendor or magnificence we can say nothing; it was not built for show, but for protection. It was the largest building which has ever stood within the limits of Kennebunk; and was an honor to its noble projector, whose memory should be cherished not only by his descendants, but by all who can duly appreciate true patriotism, and a sincere and sound benevolence.

In this garrison, or within these bulwarks, including the house outside, which was made an appendage, and from which there was direct access to the garrison, were frequently gathered all the inhabitants of Kennebunk, together with other persons (sometimes over two hundred), driven there by the exigencies of war for the preservation of their lives.

In the spring of 1724, the Indians were early at their terrible work. In March they killed Samuel Smith at Arundel; in April following, a sloop belonging to Lynn, under the command of Capt. John Felt, came into the Kennebunk river after lumber and spars, to be taken at the mill on Gooch's creek. As stated in the history of Kennebunkport, he engaged two young men, William Wormwood and Ebenezer Lewis, soldiers stationed at Harding's garrison, to assist



him. The spars were afloat, and Felt was on the raft; the bank on the north side of the river was thickly covered with trees. Here a party of Indians had concealed themselves, awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack the crew. The first intimation that the latter had of their presence, was the discharge of a gun, killing Capt. Felt. Lewis immediately ran to the mill brow, where he was also killed, by a ball striking him on the head. Wormwood ran, pursued by the enemy; finding himself likely to be overtaken, and fearing Indian captivity more than death, he placed his back against a stump, and defended himself with the butt of his gun until the bullets of the enemy had deprived him of life. By mistake, he had taken a gun not his own, when he went to the work, and it missed fire. He told them that if he had had his own gun, he would have had the satisfaction of killing one of them before he died. These men, it is said, were buried in the field near Butland's rocks, where Felt's grave-stones were standing till within the present century. They should have been standing now. These mementos of the trials and dangers of the early inhabitants, should not have been left unheeded to the ruthless hand of time. This event is strangely perverted in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, where it is said, "About the same time John Felt, William Wormwell, and Ebenezer Lewis were killed at a saw-mill on Kennebec river." The same perverted account has since found its way into various histories of the Indian wars.

This massacre occurred on the twenty-fifth of April. Historians give an account of a similar occurrence on the seventeenth, when the Indians "fell on a sloop at Kennebunk which belonged to Lynn, and killed the whole company." But we have good reason for believing that these supposed different events were identical. We derive our knowledge from records made at the time in Wells; and as the other murders, committed before and afterward, are minuted, and no account made of this last which we have stated, the inference is that no such event took place on the 17th.

On being apprised of the death of Felt and his companions, all the men in the vicinity, being about twenty, gathered together and started in pursuit of the Indians. John Webber, who was more eager than the rest, and thirsted for the blood of these demons, kept himself somewhat in advance of the others, and reaching a pile of brush got up on it that he might have a more extensive view. Here he stood some time, looking about. At length satisfied that they





were too late in the pursuit, the party returned home. When the Indians came in after the war, they gave a minute account of this raid, and Wawa the Sagamore, or the king as he was here called, then stated that he lay under the brush all the time while Webber stood upon it, but that he dared not kill him, as he could easily have done, knowing that the remainder of his company were near by. Wormwood was the son of Thomas Wormwood, who lived at the Larrabee village on Mousam river, and whose descendants are still living in Kennebunk.

Prior to the spring of this year, the government do not appear to have come to the aid of the inhabitants. But such had been the frequency and extent of these raids on the settlers, that one hundred and fifty soldiers were now sent into the province. Portions of these were stationed at Wells, Kennebunk, and Arundel. These few soldiers might do something to stay ravages near the Point where they were stationed; but to the people who lived a few miles from them, they afforded but little protection. The murder of which we have given an account was committed almost at the gate of the Harding garrison. We think there were some soldiers stationed there, while there were also several vessels with crews on board in the river close by. There was no other security than unremitted precaution. Outside of the garrisons there was always danger. The government, we judge, aided the town in some measure, by the scout which was ordered. Jeremiah Moulton was directed to keep guard day and night, and to scout about Wells village, Kennebunk, Merryland, Cape Neddock and Berwick. The Indians had no courage. The knowledge that they were pursued or watched, in a measure held them in check.

In the month of August occurred the memorable conflict at Norridgewock. The government had long been satisfied that Rasle, the French Priest residing in the Indian village at that place, was the instigator or abettor of the outrages which were continually being committed in various parts of the Province. He had been among them as their spiritual adviser nearly forty years, and had acquired supreme control over them. Their attachment to him was strong, and it was undoubtedly in his power to have stayed their frightful ravages. Still they were continued. No treaties could bind them, however solemnly entered into. The Provinces would endure these truce-breakings no longer, and a force was now sent under the com-



mand of Captains Moulton, Harmon and Bourne to destroy the village, and, if possible, to take Rasle alive. The two former of these belonged to York; whether the latter was John Bourne, of Wells, or Richard Bourne, of Cape Cod, our investigations have not enabled us to answer. A great many of these soldiers were from Arundel. The following were from Wells: John Elwell, Benjamin Sayer, John Wakefield, Nathaniel Wakefield, Gibbens Wakefield, Stephen Larrabee, John Jellison, Samuel Waterhouse, John Butland, Anthony Littlefield, and probably others.

The expedition was a complete success. The whole village was destroyed. Father Rasle bravely defended himself; but he was shot down by one of the lieutenants. Great joy prevailed when information was received of the successful issue of the enterprise; and Moulton received the commendations of the government for his skillful management of it. It was intended that Rasle should have been captured and brought to Boston; but Jaques, by whom he was killed, perceiving that he was in the act of firing at our men, shot him. Some of the present day have denounced the action of this expedition as not demanded by the circumstances of the case. But they have not had the experience to which the early settlers were subjected. Had they lived in those days they would probably have partaken somewhat of the spirit of these brave men.

The result of this expedition, so auspicious to the Province, did not immediately bring the war to a close. The government endeavored by a commission to Canada, to persuade the French to terminate it, as they undoubtedly could if so disposed. But the labors of the commission were entirely fruitless. The Indians continued to wreak out their vengeance against the people. The whole year 1724 was one of excitement. Men were murdered day after day. The skill of the Indians in ambuscade baffled all the exertions of the soldiery and of the government to protect the people. One man was killed in Arundel in August, and two more in September. One was killed on the main road near the bridge over Kennebunk river. It is a marvel that so many escaped. The Indians were about in small scouts; and being few in numbers, easily concealed themselves in the recesses of the forests; while the English almost recklessly pursued their business at the mills and on the rivers. But though the natives manifested a remarkable tact in concealing themselves from discovery, they seem to have had little or no skill in detecting the hiding





places of the white men, as appears by the several instances of escape already stated. Richard Kimball, who was an influential man, and would have been a valuable prize to them, while at one time traveling from his house to the landing on the road by Kennebunk river, discovered several Indians, just as he was about passing Wonder Brook at its mouth. He immediately jumped down and hid himself under a log projecting from the bank. One would think that here was but little chance for escape from captivity. But they failed in finding his hiding place.

At another time the Littlefield mill was in operation, and the owners were getting out lumber. Boards were sent to the Port by rafts. Gondolas had not then come into use. Samuel Littlefield, one of the owners of the mill, who, to distinguish him from another of the same name, was generally known as Fat Sam, was engaged in rafting. He was alone in his work. But possessing remarkable strength he was able to manage his raft without help. As he was working down the river he discovered several of the enemy; he instantly brought his raft to the shore on the opposite side and hid himself under a windfall. They passed directly by it, but did not discover him. He then returned to the river and proceeded with his raft. Our only explanation of this failure of their martial strategy, is to be found in the general cowardice of these savages. In looking over the history of these early wars, it will be seen that they seldom captured any one who had his gun with him. They knew that an attempt to take one thus armed, would almost certainly result in the death of some one of their number, and the discharge of a single gun would at once rouse all within the hearing of it. Every man was required to carry his gun with him when going any material distance from his home or place of labor. Kimball and Littlefield, we infer, were thus armed. At least the Indians thought so. And knowing that any one who should be in a position to discover them, must also be himself discovered, and thus receive the contents of their guns, they never dared to push their investigations too far. They felt it was not safe to look through or under the windfall, or over the bank of the brook. Assured of this cowardice as an element of Indian character, the women frequently availed themselves of the use of the musket. The grandmother of one of the ladies of Kennebunk, by accident, was left alone in the evening with a little child; and being satisfied by the motion of some of the growing vegetation in the





garden, that it was disturbed by some living object making its way toward the house, she seized the gun and fired. Immediately three Indians jumped up, and with all speed fled to the forests.

The government now felt the importance of putting more energy into the work of subduing these terrible enemies to the peace and prosperity of the people, and accordingly another expedition was set on foot to search out and subdue them. One Peter Talcot, who had been taken captive by the Indians, having succeeded in effecting his escape, communicated to the governor some facts in relation to their place of encampment; and Capt. Samuel Wheelright of Wells, with the necessary force, was sent into the interior toward Pigwacket. He was directed to take with him Stephen Hardin, who lived at the mouth of Kennebunk river, and some other man who was acquainted with the place and the route. The Indians were said to be secreted in the neighborhood of Lovell's Pond. We give the account of Wheelright's expedition as stated by himself. "The Journal of Capt. Samuel Wheelright in a march from Wells to Pigwacket. Wells, 1724, Nov. 20. I received orders from his Honor the Lieut. Governor to draw out 50 of the posted men at York, Wells and Arundel, with Lieut. Brown as my Second, Mr. Stephen Harden and Peter Colcord as Pilots, to go to Pigwacket in search after the Indians.

Nov. 21. Victualed my men. 23d Lieut. Brown and Ensign Card came to Wells and victualed their men. 24th. Foul Weather. 25th. I set out and marched about 8 miles further, and by reason of the snow on the bushes, we could go no further, and then camped, and that morning sent back three men sick. 27th. We marched about 15 miles and 4 men sent back sick. 28th. 12 men more I sent back sick, and some that detained us and so we marched but 10 miles. 29th. We marched about 18 miles. 29. We lay still by reason of foul weather and the men being sick, we being then within 10 miles of Ossipee Pond. Dec. 1. In the morning when I came to muster the men in order to march, some were sick, some lame, and some dead-hearted, and the snow being somewhat hard, so that I could not get above 18 or 20 that was fit to march forward. Upon which I called the officers together for advice, and so concluded to return again which was contrary to my inclination.

3d. got home to Wells.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT."



We can hardly persuade ourselves that this is the history of the expedition of a military company one hundred and fifty years ago. That these men, some of them inhabitants of Wells, hardened by the toils and antagonisms of pioneer life, should have been so speedily disabled by a little snow on the bushes, in the month of November, as to be unable to march sixty miles, is a marvel not easily explained. We are inclined to think that if the whole company had been entered on the roll as "dead hearted," the record would not have been wide from the truth. We have been accustomed, previously to this time, to speak of our predecessors as men of energy and courage. The main body of them were not townsmen; but still a portion were, and some of the merit of the expedition belongs to us. The captain was the son of Col. John Wheelright, the main pillar of our support and defense through all the vicissitudes of the Indian wars. But the march to Piqwacket could never have ceased to afford matter for the taunts and gibes of humor and waggers during his life. His sick men, we opine, were not long delayed from blessing God in their own houses, that they were restored to health. The valiant company whose outward march was so obstructed by snow as to require ten days' time in reaching Ossipee Pond, were so brave and hardy on the return, that the journey was accomplished in two. There was evidently among them little of the spirit of the noble Lovewell and his party, who faced the brunt of all the storms of winter, and fought a battle which will honor his memory as long as civilization shall maintain its hold on this continent. This battle did much to reduce the Indians to subjection, and Wells should have had an honorable share in it.

The Indians disposed to cease from hostilities, in December entered into a new treaty; but a spirit of revenge for the murder of Rasle being aroused in the French, they prevailed upon the natives to disregard the treaty, and continue the war upon the English. In October, 1726, an attack was made on the family of Phillip Durrell in Arundel, of which Col. John Wheelright in a letter to the Lieut. Governor, dated Oct. 27th, gives a brief account: "Phillip Durrell of Kennebunk, went from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun being about two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter with a child 20 months old. He returned home a little before sunset, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open and all his cloth-





ing carried away. He searched the woods and found no signs of any killed." A further and interesting account of this transaction will be found in Bradbury's History of Kennebunkport. This family is spoken of as living in Kennebunk. It was common in that day so to distinguish all who lived in the neighborhood of Kennebunk river. There were then no prescribed limits to the territory thus designated. Among the articles taken from the house and carried away by the Indians, was a Bible, which was left by them in the woods where they encamped. This was afterwards found and restored. It belonged to Mrs. Baxter, the married daughter of Mr. Durrell, and has been carefully kept since, being now in the possession of Oliver Bourne, Esq., one of her descendants.

The captives generally were carried into Canada, and for a small sum sold to the French, who demanded a large sum for their ransom; thus making the wars a source of much profit to them. We do not understand how the French could hold English subjects in their possession, while they claimed to be neutral in these wars, and to have no agency in them. At a conference holden with the Indians at Falmouth in 1727, it was said by them that three of the persons captured in this last incursion were killed on their journey to Canada, that the boy was sold to the French, and that they had no power to restore him. This boy, Bradbury says, was but two years with the Indians; and yet his appearance and habits afterward were always those of the red man. We suppose these two years must have been prior to his sale to the French.

This was the last act of what was termed Lovewell's war, immediately affecting those dwelling in this neighborhood. Wells does not seem to have suffered much in any of its stages; its garrisons, so numerous, afforded protection to all who resorted to them; and its bravery in former wars, manifested in the successful defense of the town against all the forces brought against it, may have had some restraining effect upon the enemy. In the early years of the settlement there was no enmity between the races; but in the progress of increasing civilization, a spirit was engendered in the bosoms of these sons of the forest, which made them unwelcome neighbors of the white men. The intercourse which existed in times of peace had no effect in softening their revengeful spirit, when those peaceful relations were broken off. Mercy, and remembrance of former associations and kindnesses, seem, with here and there an exception, to have



had no home in any of their souls. They were cruel and malicious to the last degree; and thence among all the inhabitants there prevailed a bitter enmity toward them.

In concluding this chapter, it may be well to add some account of the Indians, with whom our predecessors were specially acquainted; the author has known and had frequent conversations with men, who, living in their neighborhood, were thoroughly acquainted with their peculiar characteristics. It may be thought by some of our readers, that the spirit cherished toward them was not consistent with the relations which they were bound to maintain. While we cannot but heartily condemn the various agencies by which, from year to year, their characters were moulded, we cannot find it in our hearts to complain of the people of the last century, for their enmity toward these natives. They were here a large part of the warmer seasons, living and having their homes among the settlers. Some of them dwelt on the north side of Gooch's creek, near where the road now passes; here were about twenty wigwams. Another community of six or seven wigwams lived on Great Hill and Grandfather's neck, and a third, a small distance below Larrabee's fort, where there were three or four wigwams. These structures were made of small sticks of wood about twelve feet long, standing upon or driven into the ground, in a circular form, inclining inward at the top, leaving only a small space for the escape of the smoke, and covered with brush, clay, skins, or anything else attainable, to make them tight and warm. The whole Indian population in Wells was about one hundred and sixty; they were of different tribes, according to the divisions made by ethnologists, but classed under the general name of Abnekis. Whether they were of the Saco, Piqwacket, Kennebec, Penobscot, Norridgewock, or some other classification, we cannot determine. In ancient times, the people here were not accustomed to make any distinctions; they were all Indians, or savages. Tom Wawa, or Wabaunay, was the leading Sagamore, having his home on Great Hill. The inhabitants called him the king; he was well known to the whites; entered freely into conversations; visited their houses, and was well acquainted with their various employments and habits of life; and thus gathered all the information necessary to aid him in any subsequent raids upon them. He was not the Hopewood, as some have supposed, who died long before this time, for he lived several years after the Lovewell fight, in which he was second in





command. Like most of the Indians who dwelt among the English, he was addicted to the free use of intoxicating liquors; and while savage by nature, he was made much more so by its frequent use. He was in the habit of beastly intoxication, as were all the Indians then commorant in this vicinity.

It was with these wild savages that the people of Wells had been involved in the terrible wars of which we have given an account. While dwelling among them, familiar with their houses and families, enjoying a social intercourse, and manifesting toward them the kindest friendship, suddenly their hearts would overflow with malice, and they would be found wreaking out their vengeance upon them in relentless torture, and cruelties the most revolting. Wawa was the leader in the attack on the Durrell family; he was, we suppose, well acquainted with all the members; yet he and his treacherous band could, in the absence of the father, cruelly murder his wife and children, and soon afterward return and dwell among the people, as if they had no agency in their death. They could one day exhibit all the innocence of a true and honest friendship toward their white neighbors, and the next, without provocation, but merely from the promptings of an infernal spirit, riot in their blood.

This trait of Indian character, the sudden vibration from apparent friendship to the most malignant and cruel hatred, without provocation, is entirely inexplicable and without parallel among other nations. There can be no mistake as to the fact; our informants, as well acquainted with them as with their white neighbors, in all our conversations with them, recognized this as a marked feature of the Indian character. In their every-day life they were associating with them, and could recount all their names as well as those of the white men; and while thus dwelling together in apparent harmony and peace, all at once the Indians would become sullen, and discontinue their associations; and then would be seen grinding their knives and making other preparations for the renewal of hostilities. And yet there was another remarkable feature of this peculiar Indian polity; they never thus transformed themselves from friends to enemies without giving notice, so that all might take heed to themselves and their property; like those men who are subject to spells of insanity, who, confident that the paroxysm is coming upon them, warn their friends to take the proper precautions to guard against injury. The habit of giving this notice was invariable; whenever they came in





from their raids they erected near their wigwams a pile of stones, in a conical form, two or three feet high. So long as this pile remained they were at peace with the whites; but when war was to be renewed, it was thrown down. They were never guilty of a violation of the armistice signified by this monument.

There is another fact which we are unable to reconcile with the general history of the relation of our fathers to the aborigines of the country; our knowledge of that portion of the tribe who were accustomed to abide in this vicinity, is derived from men who were contemporary with, and dwelt among them; so that we are confident and well assured of what we affirm. These hostilities, we are informed, were never continued more than a month or six weeks at a time. We know that the wars continued many years; and no history which we have seen speaks of any such suspensions of arms, or such intermittent wars, as this fact suggests. We shall attempt no solution of this problem; but recognizing the fact as stated by our informants, we do not understand why these savages, who could thus suddenly break up their homes and slay the inhabitants, should not have been regarded as murderers, and disposed of as criminals of that character always have been, instead of being suffered to dwell among them unmolested.

When the Indians returned thus to their homes, and raised the pile of stones, they seemed to be overjoyed that hostilities had ceased; they came to the houses of their old friends, with their faces as radiant with joy as though they had been long absent from the scenes of their former attachments, and had returned innocent of all iniquity. Almost the first thought was, of music, and dancing with those on whom the day before they would have inflicted the most merciless cruelties. They seem to have been influenced by some principles or motives of which we have no knowledge.

But this strange development of character was not universal. There was one among them who seemed to have more of the spirit of civilized man. Ambereuse, living in one of the wigwams on Mousam river, was a man of peace; never manifesting any propensities for strife and war, but always desiring to live on friendly terms with the white men. He was never known to have any agency in war. He said he did not like war. Whenever his companions deserted their wigwams for their direful work, he remained at home; and though the pile of stones was prostrated, he continued his asso-



ciations with the settlers as intimately as if peace was undisturbed. We suppose he was of the number of those who were then denominated "praying Indians." This friendly Indian lived here till 1752, when he removed to South Berwick. Sullivan in his History of Maine says: "There came to Berwick an Indian named Amberuse, with his wife. He said he hated war, and only wanted to live where he could make his brooms and his baskets and live in peace. He remained there for several years and then removed to the Kennebec."

As stated before, the Indians had but a summer residence here. During the summer months, for the most part, they subsisted on clams, which were then very abundant. When unsuccessful in the pursuit of game, these furnished the necessary supply for all their wants. They had numerous canoes, yet they were not in the habit of fishing beyond the mouth of the rivers. Salmon, shad and alewives abounded in the streams, and at the Mousam Falls great quantities were taken. Large heaps of clamshells used to show themselves in the vicinity of their wigwams. The food which was most highly prized by them was the deer, which at the time of which we are speaking had begun to diminish. The progress of the settlement, and the clearing of the forests had tended to drive them inland. Yet they were still to be found in considerable numbers, and every capture was a source of much joy; not merely for the food secured, but because of the exciting scenes which followed. Every one has heard of the Indian pow-wow. It was set up here on all occasions of rejoicing; and especially when they had been successful in the chase. One grand object of the pursuit of the deer was, to obtain their hoofs, these rendering important service in carrying on the pow-wow. A large number of them was required for each individual. When the deer was killed, the hoofs were taken off, and prepared for use, by removing all the interior substances, and leaving nothing but the shell or horn. They were then dried by exposure to the sun, and being thoroughly siccated, were strung upon some kind of a cord for use in the savage frolic. As another part of their paraphernalia on these occasions, they were provided with strings of beads, about the size of robins' eggs. When they had met with any unusual success, or any joyous event occurred, they organized and prepared for the pow-wow. The hair was shaved entirely from one side of the head, which was then painted, one part red and the other blue, and sometimes with a variety of colors; they then decorated





themselves with the beads, suspending one string from the right, and the other from the left ear, to the tip of the nose; they were made to hang loosely, the curve falling down nearly to the shoulders. The deer's hoofs were then applied; they were tied round the legs just above the ankle, each person wearing two strings; thus equipped, they began the pow-wow. This was performed by jumping and shaking (for the purpose of rattling the deer-horns, which constituted the music), bellowing, hallooing, roaring, and other noisy vociferations, incapable of description; altogether making, as I have been told by those who had witnessed these frolics, a most awful melody; this was continued till closed by the exhaustion of the participants.

These Indians seem to have had no idea of a God; there was nothing in their action which looked like worship, or which indicated any sense of dependence on a higher power. They had become woefully corrupt; those who lived in these days concurred in the judgment that they were desperately wicked. The only answer to the enquiries as to their worship which we could draw from those who furnished the foregoing facts, was, that "they worshipped no other God but the devil, and him they served constantly."

The Lovewell war ended in Dec., 1725; in 1726 the following were all the inhabitants of the town:

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| Charles Annis,      | Stephen Harding,         | Matthew Patten,     |
| Richard Boothby,    | Nathaniel Harmon,        | Thomas Penny,       |
| James Boston,       | Archelaus Hewitt,        | Peter Rich,         |
| John Burks,         | George Jacobs,           | Caleb Richardson,   |
| George Butland,     | Nathaniel Kimball,       | John Ross,          |
| John Butland,       | Caleb Kimball,           | James Sampson,      |
| Nathaniel Clark,    | David Lawson,            | Francis Sayer,      |
| Samuel Clark,       | William Larrabee,        | John Storer,        |
| Eleazer Clark,      | David Littlefield,       | Jeremiah Storer,    |
| James Clark,        | Dependence Littlefield,  | George Simonton,    |
| Nicholas Cole,      | Francis Littlefield,     | Moses Stevens,      |
| Ichabod Cousens,    | James Littlefield,       | Joseph Stevens,     |
| Benjamin Crediford, | Joseph Littlefield,      | Samuel Stuart,      |
| Joseph Crediford,   | Samuel Littlefield,      | Samuel Stuart, jr., |
| Josiah Crediford,   | John Littlefield,        | Joseph Taylor,      |
| Moses Dormer,       | Jonathan Littlefield,    | William Taylor,     |
| John Eldridge,      | Samuel Littlefield, jr., | Samuel Treadwell,   |

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| Samuel Emery,       | Nathaniel Littlefield, | Israel Tucker,       |
| William Eaton,      | Peter Littlefield,     | James Wakefield,     |
| Malachi Edwards,    | Job Low,               | John Wakefield,      |
| John Fairfield,     | William Low,           | Nathaniel Wakefield, |
| Thomas Gillpatrick, | Henry Maddox,          | John Wells,          |
| Joseph Getchell,    | Gershom Maxwell,       | John Wells, jr.,     |
| Zachariah Goodale,  | Bryce McLellan,        | Thomas Wells,        |
| Joseph Hill,        | John McDonald,         | John Wheelright,     |
| Samuel Hill,        | James Medole,          | Samuel Wheelright,   |
| Samuel Hatch,       | Abel Merrill,          | Joseph Wheelright,   |
| Phillip Hatch,      | David Morrison,        | Josiah Winn,         |
| Benjamin Hatch,     | Jacob Perkins,         | Josiah Winn, jr.,    |
| John Hatch,         | Robert Poke,           | Thomas Wormwood.     |
| Samuel Hatch, jr.,  |                        |                      |

Soon after the close of the Lovewell war, in 1730, died JOSEPH STORER. He was the son of William Storer of Dover, and was born in 1648. His father died in 1660, and his widow married Samuel Austin, of Wells, in 1661. The family were then moved to Wells, where the children were put under the guardianship of Austin, in whose family they continued until maturity. We are not aware that any of them were favored with an education, beyond that which was acquired under the roof of the father-in-law. Austin kept a public house, and was a commissioner for trials several years. In those days public houses were not always nurseries of virtue; yet, where books were not always accessible, they afforded opportunity, through the intercourse of strangers, of acquiring much practical knowledge. Tavern keepers were then generally well-informed and intelligent men, and were selected for offices of trust. They were licensed to sell intoxicating liquors; but the business does not seem to have had the baleful influence upon them which has been so often witnessed in a later day among those of that occupation. Austin and the Storer family seem to have escaped from the ordinary injurious effects of the traffic. The Storers came to manhood well grounded in moral principle, and thence became men of great usefulness. Joseph Storer seems to have been engaged in the lumber business, building mills and manufacturing boards. He was old enough to learn the lessons of the Indian war of 1675; was active in that service, and was thus fitted by his knowledge of Indian char-





acter and warfare, to make the necessary preparation for future collisions with the natives. He built a house on the main road, where John S. Pope now lives, about the year 1679, and afterwards added fortifications with palisades around it. During the next war he built several small houses inside the fortifications for the relief of those who were reduced to the extremity of fleeing here for refuge. This house was constantly open for the service of the people. Officers and soldiers resorted to it *ad libitum*, while he, with a truly patriotic spirit, was always ready to respond to the wants of all who had been driven from their homes by peril and suffering. Wheelright's garrison had not then been built; so that at three periods afterward this was the frontier garrison of the Province.

Storer was, in every way, active in defense of the Province, encouraging the people to maintain their ground; giving up to some of the inhabitants lots of tillage land near the fort for cultivation, as well as pasture for their cattle. The wounded were brought to his house as to a hospital, where he provided good nursing for them in the kindest care of his own family. For these services he received no remuneration from any source. A sincere and earnest patriotism prompted him to all this benevolence. He was an officer in the service, but these ministrations to the public needs in days of fearful peril, far outshone any glory of military distinction. Perhaps it may be said, that to him more than any other man, was the Province indebted for its preservation from entire desolation. The timely erection of his garrison afforded the last refuge for the fleeing inhabitants. Without this there would have been no barrier to complete waste, and abandonment by civilized man. The whole territory must have been given over to the revengeful and merciless foe.

Mr. Storer's life, through all the trials of the Indian wars, was marked by a noble humanity. He was a solid man; Christian in all his attributes. He was one of the founders of the church at York; and thus his name is not found among those who inaugurated the church at Wells in 1701, though afterward to the close of his life he acted as one of its deacons. From him have descended all the Storers in Wells.

The name has undergone various changes in its transmission from past ages. The Storer family, we think, descended from Rev. Thomas Storr, Vicar of Bilsby, in Lincolnshire, England, one of whose children was Augustine, whose sister, Marie Storee, was the





wife of the Rev. John Wheelright. Augustine was one of the combination at Exeter, William, of Dover, being his son. The name has been spelled Storr, Storee, Story, Storah, and Storer. By the latter the family in Maine are now, and have been known many years.

Storer was commissioned as a lieutenant, and was always distinguished as Lieutenant Storer, though not called into any service requiring his absence from the garrison. He married Hannah Hill, daughter of Roger Hill, of Saco, by whom he had eight children. The genealogy of the family will be more particularly stated in another place. At the period of his death in 1730, he was the wealthiest man in Wells. One was then required to possess but little property to be regarded as a rich man. His estate was appraised at about 5,000 dollars. Among the items were a half dozen silver spoons, the first of that style possessed by any inhabitant of the town, indicating something of his social standing and of his aspirations for rank among the townsmen. As his name is not in the list of inhabitants in 1726, and for other reasons, not necessary to state, we think that for several years he must have resided in York.



## CHAPTER XXII.

GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—CONFIRMATION OF TITLES BY THE PROPRIETORS—FERDINANDO GORGES—BATCOMB—THE LITTLEFIELD AND WINN CONTROVERSY—BILLS OF CREDIT AUTHORIZED BY THE LEGISLATURE—SHIPBUILDING AT WELLS.

FROM the close of the Lovewell war, in 1726, to the beginning of the French war, in 1744, but little appears in the history of the town worthy of special notice. Wars have never been fruitful of much good to the race. The whole tendency of these contests has been to demoralization. No man can be made better by a violation of the laws of Infinite Wisdom. There are, indeed, occasions when the people must fight; when it would be a sin against humanity to permit an aggressor to go on and accomplish his iniquitous designs. Under such circumstances, an obligation rests on every good man to interpose his own energies between the transgressor and his object, whatever may be the cross thereby assumed. Still the incidental results of war are debasing. The associations which it creates are generally of a character adverse to the growth and maintainance of a sound morality. These Indian wars excited and nourished a bad spirit. The cruelties of the savages worked severely on the sensibilities of the people, waking them up to revenge, and a retaliation not less wicked than the outrages of the ignorant children of the forests. Massachusetts gave a large bounty for the Indian scalp, so that the best instincts of the human heart were paralyzed. Men were virtually educated by the government to disregard the teachings of the moral sense, and rejoice in rendering evil for evil.

These Indian wars not only corrupted the moral sense, but actual immoralities speedily ensued from them. A great part of the time all the people were crowded together in the garrisons, so that the proprieties of social life were disregarded. The seclusion and privacy of one's own house could not be maintained. Wholesome restraint and action under such circumstances were speedily dispensed





with. Freedom became licentious. Accordingly, after the doors of the forts were thrown open, misdemeanors and immoralities abounded. A great many, males and females, were indicted for offenses, misdemeanors against Christian purity. It was exceedingly difficult under such influences for one to maintain a true dignity; but the schools were now in operation, and a long term of peace very much modified the moral aspect of the town, though there were some pugnacious men and women who seemed to find satisfaction in continual broils. The expectation of a more lasting peace was general; lands, consequently, became of greater value, and all were anxious to maintain their individual rights. A few only of those to whom grants had been made in former years had so fulfilled their conditions, as to have confidence in their titles, and a great many confirmations became necessary and were allowed by the proprietors during the twenty following years. New grants also were made, and various persons, Ichabod Cousens, Charles Annis, Joseph Getchell, Thomas Penny, Gershom Maxwell, Peter Littlefield, Job Low, Benjamin Hatch, Eleazer Clark, Daniel Morrison, were admitted as proprietors.

Even the grant of land and mill privilege to Henry Sayward, on which he had expended so much money, was considered of doubtful validity to the present possessors, and it was renewed and confirmed to Joseph Hill and John Storer. To put an end to all apprehensions as to the question of title, which prevented many people from entering heartily into the work of renovation and improvement, at a proprietors' meeting in 1734, it was voted to confirm the titles of all persons to the land they then lived on, so that now nothing was needed but enterprise and activity for a rapid extension of the settlement.

Among those who were at this time inhabitants of the town was **FERDINANDO GORGES**. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain the person meant by this appellation. In 1686, Ferdinando Gorges, of the province of Maine, made a lease to "John Littlefield, sen., of Batcomb, near unto the township of Wells in said Province." From the signature we should judge the lessor to be the first Ferdinando Gorges, to whom was granted the original charter of the Province. Any chirographical expert in contrasting this signature with that of the original patentee, we think, would have little hesitation in de-



claring them to be the same hand-writing. But the patentee had been dead nearly forty years, and this Ferdinando, we suppose, was the grandson of the first. He speaks of himself in various places as "of the province of Maine," and as "attorney of Henry Gorges of the Island of Barbadoes," who was the brother and heir of Thomas Gorges. He lived on the northeast side of Ogunquit river, where he speaks of his location, and describes it as "the messuage or farm house, and all houses, edifices, buildings, barns, stable, saw-mill, orchards, with 200 acres of arable land now in his tenure and occupation." This territory we suppose to be part of Batcomb. Here John Littlefield, the first, lived. Batcomb was a small parish in England, in the county of Somerset, and probably bore the same relation to Wells in that county as it did to the town of Wells here. Probably it embraced the Wheelright farm. In 1651, this farm and Cape Neddock were made a village and authorized to send a deputy to the general court, and were thus to continue until they "grow to be more capable for a town." Thomas Wheelright, who signed the York submission to Massachusetts, we suppose lived here. Where his house was we do not know. Being a bachelor, perhaps he had no occasion for any. None of the inhabitants of Wells who yielded to that jurisdiction and signed the submission, are known to have resided on this territory. It does not seem to have been regarded as a part of the town. We therefore leave the question of the boundaries of Batcomb without any further labor for its solution.

John Littlefield had but a temporary lease of his farm and mill privilege, the fee being in Henry Gorges of the island of Barbadoes. But lands being then of but small value, but little was thought about titles. Littlefield had built his mill here many years previously, and continued to occupy it till his death, in 1696.

Though the relations with the Indians and the French after the third Indian war were of a satisfactory character, and the people enjoyed the opportunity of seeking to retrieve their former positions, a new conflict sprung up more disparaging to some of the inhabitants than were the terrible wars through which they had passed. Those conflicts had served to unite the settlers, and they were of one heart and soul in resisting the awful ravages of the Indians. But an internal war was now set on foot in Batcomb, the evils of which far transcended those which any external foe could bring on them.

After the death of John Littlefield, his children agreed that Josiah





should occupy the estate during the lifetime of Patience, his widow, and for a short time afterwards. Josiah in a few years, 1708, was captured by the Indians and carried into captivity, as we stated in another place. During his captivity, his children and all his estate, by order of court, were put under the care of Josiah Winn, who married Lydia, a daughter of his brother.

After Littlefield's return from his captivity, a controversy arose between him and Winn, as the custodian of his property and of his children while he was absent. The precise difficulties which gave rise to this litigation we are unable to state. We judge from the fact that the trust was committed to Winn by the probate court, and from the tenor of Littlefield's letter from Canada, that Winn was a man of good character, and that the public reposed confidence in his integrity. But Littlefield's wife was of a very different temperament from that of her husband, she not having much of that meek, quiet, and peaceable spirit which becomes the female sex. We have good reason for the belief that the government of the household was one of unrestrained gynecocracy; that she ruled the family without any deference to the teachings of the Bible. She was a second wife. It frequently happens that this relationship is productive of great discord in the family. The new wife is perhaps unduly tenacious of her own rights, or it may be that the children of the first thoughtlessly rebel against the installation of a stranger into the ministry of the household affairs, and thus dissatisfaction with the new connection grows very rapidly into such disaffection that the family is broken up. We think it is highly probable that Littlefield's wife was not well reconciled to the order of court, taking away from her the care of her husband's children and property and giving them to the charge of Winn. He then had three sons and five daughters. The daughters, very wisely, after the death of their father, took to themselves husbands. Anna married Jacob Perkins; Esther, Joseph Credeford; Sarah, James Clark; and Elizabeth, Zachariah Goodale. The name of Lydia's husband we have not ascertained.

The controversy between Littlefield and Winn was not settled during the life of the former. The wife being indignant, as we suppose, because the guardianship was not committed to her, and thus always in the mood for fault finding, probably complained to her husband of some of Winn's proceedings, representing them in such a way that he gave credence to her statements. This action on her part had a





tendency to defeat any proposition for an amicable settlement, and before they had reached any adjustment, in 1712, Littlefield was killed by the Indians. His widow, Elizabeth Littlefield, was appointed his administratrix.

During his occupancy of the saw-mill, Winn had supplied it with various articles of machinery necessary for its operation. It being now manifest that no peaceful adjustment of the matters in controversy could be brought about, he first quietly removed from the mill and took to himself the articles which he had thus provided. Eliab Littlefield also, brother of Josiah, who, with Samuel Webber, had leased to him their part of the mill, at the same time took away the water-wheel, crank, and other materials which he had supplied. The widow's pugnacity was now aroused, and a war began between all the parties interested in the estate, which, we think, is without a parallel in the history of New England.

This contest was indeed a private one; yet so many were involved in it, and the connections of those immediate participants in it so extensive, that it became necessarily one of public concern. One of the main objects of history is the instruction of subsequent time. All ages may profit by the experience of preceding generations. The admonitions of this contest cannot fail to be in the highest degree salutary. By showing the evils resulting from family discord, and strife as to rights in the paternal estate, it will afford a lesson which should come with power to every heart. Let it be remembered that all the parties engaged in this controversy were, at first, persons of character and good standing in society, though very deficient in education. Josiah Littlefield was the first-named in the formation of the church in 1701. Winn and Jacob Perkins had been selectmen of the town.

Probably Elizabeth Littlefield, the widow, knew very little about the title of her husband. Whether the fee of the house, land and mill was in him, she never enquired. Perhaps she had no reason for a doubt on that question. Eliab Littlefield and Webber now called upon her for possession of the mill. This she at once refused, and they were compelled to resort to their suit. In this action they prevailed. Judgment was rendered against her, and she appealed to the superior court. The widow now put on the harness, and was determined to "fight it out on this line." Her vengeance was not to be appeased by reason or entreaty. Winn, who had undoubtedly



been faithful in the care of his wards, and of the estate of his uncle, operating the mill and managing it during the frightful period of the war, felt that he ought to have an equivalent for his services. But the angry woman would give no heed to his claim. He, therefore, commenced his action against her, as administratrix, and recovered judgment for his pay. From this judgment she appealed. Her pugnacity received now a new impulse, and determined to brave any encounter that her revenge might dictate, she brought her suit against Winn for cutting trees on the lands of the estate, which, we suppose, was merely a part of his action in operating the mill for the benefit of Littlefield. In this action she failed, judgment being rendered against her. From this judgment she appealed. At the same time she brought another suit against him to recover a debt of five pounds, which she claimed he owed the estate. But the same fate followed this suit and she again appealed. She then sued Eliab for a debt which he owed, and obtained a verdict in her favor; from which he appealed.

She again brought her action of trespass against Winn for carrying away the machinery from the mill. But the jury determined it to be Winn's, and judgment was rendered against her. She then brought an action of trover against him for taking several pieces of iron from the mill. But the result was against her, the jury returning a verdict that the iron was his. From this judgment she appealed.

Malachi Edwards was a witness for the widow in these suits, and in the intercourse necessitated by them, such manifestations were made by her as to captivate his sensitive heart. Probably impressed with the conviction that the widow with her property would be a very acceptable prize, he amplified the facts to some extent to ingratiate himself in her affections. At any rate, their mutual inclinations were gratified, and on the tenth day of October, 1716, they were married.

Still it is difficult to account for this union. Edwards at this time was one of the selectmen, and we thence infer was a man of fair judgment and of good character. Littlefield, her first husband, we know was a solid man. The spirit of the widow must have been well understood. Both of them must have been captivated by some facial expression, or by some amenities in her deportment which do not "appear upon the record." Her demonstrations certainly could





not have enticed any considerate man into such an important connection. It is most probable that her supposed property had its usual influence in drawing Edwards to her embraces; and that she felt the need of his aid in her endeavors to save it to herself, from the claims of those to whom it rightly belonged. At any rate, the burden of the contest was now laid on his shoulders. Before the marriage, she brought an action of trespass against Eliab for cutting down trees. In her union with Edwards she lost none of her pugnacity. The battle went on. The verdict was in her favor; and being thus in the ascendant she was inspired with new vigor for the strife.

Eliab Littlefield, now living in Manchester, being fully satisfied that the widow, thus doubly armed for the contest, would yield to no demands however honest, was determined to secure his title to the possession of the estate, and brought this action against Edwards and wife, to eject them from the farm. The widow held the agreement entered into by the heirs to allow Josiah to occupy the estate during the lifetime of the mother. But she refused to let them see it or to have any use of it. From some cause which we have not learned, perhaps from a failure to get possession of this lease, Littlefield failed in this suit, and judgment was rendered for Edwards.

The next suit was brought by Winn against Edwards alone, for some trespass which he had committed. But the latter was successful in his defense. From this judgment Winn appealed. He then sued Edwards and wife for trespass on his land adjoining Ogunquit river, near Sandy Point. Of the result of this suit, we are not informed. It was one of considerable magnitude, but our minutes are not sufficiently full to enable us to speak of its nature or termination.

Edwards was now thoroughly enlisted in the fray, and pressed on by the zeal of his wife, he turned upon Winn, and brought an action against him upon an agreement, which he had entered into some years previously, to pay him £100. But in this case he failed. Judgment was rendered for Winn, and Edwards appealed.

Winn then again sued Edwards and recovered judgment against him. Edwards appealed. Edwards again sued Winn, but was unsuccessful.

At length the children, and other parties interested, became excited by the long delay in the acknowledgment and adjustment of their claims. Jacob Perkins was filled with some inspirations not



very creditable to the noblest work of God, and, like Peter, begun to curse and swear. For this he was criminally prosecuted.

Edwards also seems to have lost somewhat of the dignity of a true manhood. He was at the time a constable, and in town meeting was directed by Justices Hill and John Wheelright to execute a warrant. He seized the offender and then laid hold of Hill in a contemptuous manner, and directed him to stand guard over his prisoner. For this he was prosecuted and was required to pay a fine of ten pounds.

Winn was brought into court, and was fined for his indecent words and actions in presence of the court, while in a state of intoxication.

Jacob Perkins was also again prosecuted for the very serious offense of striking a negro on the head with an axe; so that the ten years of litigation seems to have wrought a very material change in the characters of these combatants. But Edwards soon recovered his self-possession, and lamenting and showing penitence for his folly, with his wife Elizabeth, endeavored to garrison himself by a union with the church in 1732. With this step he gained new courage, in the expectation that thereby he would have the sympathy and support of the best part of society. But they were soon called to face an opponent more difficult to meet than any hitherto involved in the conflict. Henry Gorges who, as we have already stated, owned the fee in the mill and farm (Littlefield being simply lessee under him), came in and claimed the property, brought his suit, and recovered the possession, so that the principal cause of the quarrel was removed. Nevertheless the strife went on.

But we hardly feel justified in giving a further detailed account of the numerous suits and prosecutions which followed the institution of the first action. Suffice it to say, that in our investigations we have followed the controversy nearly to the middle of the century, and have examined between forty and fifty suits and criminal prosecutions between the immediate parties, their descendants, and friends. There seems to have been a disposition to fight it out, to use a common but in this case very apt expression, "to the bitter end." The acrimony and bitterness engendered by the conflicting claims of the widow, the heirs, and their mutual friends could not be appeased by any influences which could be brought to bear upon them. Malice had usurped supreme control over all, and it would not be satisfied so long as any opportunity for the gratification of the spirit of revenge presented itself. Winn fought valiantly until the king of ter-





rors, in 1735, interposed and forced him to lay aside his armor. The controversy did not die with him, but, as is not uncommonly the case, the members of the family turned upon each other. "The father against the son, and the son against the father; the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law," and their foes were "they of their own household." Finally, all the heirs united in a suit against Edwards and wife, to recover the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, which had previously been decided by the court to be due from them, but which they refused to pay. The heirs recovered judgment for the amount, but Edwards and his wife were determined to pay nothing, and appealed. Jacob Perkins, Joseph Crediford, James Clark, Zachariah Goodale, Eliab Littlefield and others were drawn in, till the conflict culminated in a terrible embroilment. Exasperation reached its highest pitch. The passions of the opponents of Edwards were aroused to such a degree that they were ready to take his life, and on the eighteenth of July (1739), while he was working on his marsh, Jacob Perkins, George Jacobs, jr., and John Jacobs suddenly fell upon him, dragged him to a pond, and forced him down below the water, even into the mud, and while one held him down in that position, Jacob Perkins ran for his pitchfork to thrust him through. But at that moment, or before he could execute his fiendish purpose, a son of Edwards, Joshua, ran to his rescue, and the assailants were driven off. The curses and imprecations showered upon Edwards, appearing by the deposition of Joshua Edwards, now before us (too shocking for insertion upon the historic page), show that the parties must have been wrought up to the highest frenzy. If ever a case occurred where the modern doctrine of "momentary insanity" could be admitted, it could well have been pleaded by these men. They were evidently beside themselves with rage. One would suppose that this terrible encounter would have opened the eyes of the various parties and led them to end their fraternal strife; but not so. Jacobs again and again brought his suit. Any one desirous of further information in regard to this protracted litigation may gratify his curiosity by an examination of the records of our courts from the year 1710 to 1750, during which time he will find one or more suits commenced almost yearly by some of the members of the family or their sympathizers.

Another subject of considerable interest occupied the attention of





the town in the year 1728. In consequence of the destructive wars in which the people had been engaged, the inhabitants, or a large portion of them, had become poor, and many could do but little toward retrieving their previous condition, or toward any enterprise tending to build up and enlarge the settlements, and the Provincial Legislature of Massachusetts this year (1728) adopted the expedient for relieving the people in their distressed condition, by authorizing a loan in bills of credit to be distributed among the various towns in proportion to the taxes paid. Six thousand dollars issued for this purpose. A town meeting was called to choose a committee to receive the amount assigned to Wells, and at the meeting held for this purpose, on June eighteenth, it was voted, "That the money that is our proportional part of the loan money be brought into the town of Wells." Some of the inhabitants strenuously opposed the measure on the ground that the town would thereby become responsible for the repayment, and as some of the persons who would receive a portion of it would not or could not repay, the town might thus be subjected to severe loss. But the people decided to take the risk, and Joseph Hill, Joseph Littlefield, and Samuel Stuart were chosen trustees to receive the sum assigned to Wells, and to let the same out to the inhabitants, not exceeding thirty pounds to one person, with good security. We have not learned that any loss accrued to the town by the relief thus afforded. Probably, all who received paid it according to the terms of the loan. Many good men, who might otherwise have been unable to initiate any important work, were, by this timely aid, inspired with new energy for their employments.

The people of Wells then, as ever since, were dependent on navigation as the main-spring of business. Farming and milling were the occupations of a large majority of them, but these were unprofitable without the aid of vessels, and there were a few men in the town who were glad to avail themselves of the coasting business as a means of profit. All along through the twenty years' peace, ship building was carried on in the yards at Wells. Robert Barret, Enoch Davis, Joseph Hill, John Batson, John Webber, John Winn, John Storer, and Francis Storer built and sailed coasters. These, though chiefly of small burden, were engaged in a more enlarged coasting trade than such vessels are now employed in,—traffic extending to the far south and to the British dominions on the north.



But we purpose to speak more particularly upon this subject in a future chapter.

Although at this period a good degree of prosperity prevailed, and the inhabitants of the town were generally improving their condition, still the same was equally true of other parts of the Province, and other locations presenting greater attractions to those seeking a more extensive business than could reasonably be expected in the future of Wells, several prominent men, whose aims were higher than a mere comfortable maintainance for their families, allured by the prospect of a larger and more extended traffic, were induced to leave the town. The McLellans, since so distinguished in the commercial world, sold their farms and moved to Falmouth, now Portland. The Simontons, also, left about the same time, and we think went to Falmouth. Other valuable men had died about this time; among them Joseph Storer, Thomas Wells, Josiah Winn, John Wheelright, and others. The loss of such men was a great hindrance to the prosperity of the town.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MEETING-HOUSE—COLLECTION OF MILL RENTS—PARSONAGE BUILT—STOCKADE BUILT AROUND IT—ALTERATIONS TO THE MEETING-HOUSE—PAUPERS—DANIEL TUCKER—THROAT DISTEMPER—SCHOOLS—RICHARD DEAN—FIRST SCHOOL-HOUSE—FIRST SCHOOL IN KENNEBUNK—NATHANIEL HARRINGTON—ANDREW TYLER—JOHN LESTER—WOLVES—JOSEPH HILL.

As stated in another chapter, soon after the close of the second war, a meeting-house had been commenced and the outside finished; but Indian hostilities and the poverty of the people prevented any further expenditure on it for several years. In 1707, it was "voted and agreed on to Glays & Seale within side of the Meeting House with lime at the towns cost." Though this expression, "at the towns cost," is common and has no special force, it may be well here to say, that at this time it was contrary to law for any persons to build and finish a church on their own account, as it was said such liberties would produce divisions, and regular congregational worship would be interfered with. This was in the midst of the war; but the inhabitants were confident of their ability to protect it. The glazing was absolutely necessary, both for its preservation and for the comfort of the people; but the war was reducing the property of the inhabitants, and some of the best men of the town had been carried into captivity, and, beside, the great freshet of 1708 had done much damage, so that they were unable to carry their votes into effect. The house, therefore, was doomed to stand in its unfinished condition many years longer. In 1714, the people again voted to underpin and finish it, with the addition of galleries, and to pay for it by the collection of all debts due the town, and assessing the balance.

The spirit was good, but the purse was weak, and the vote could not be carried out. In 1719, it was voted that "the selectmen take care of and provide for the repaire of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting House at y<sup>e</sup> Town



Charge, and to raise money sufficient for that use, viz.: To Underpin and to plaister it withinside in the rooffe, and to mend y<sup>e</sup> leaks that shall be found there, and also to build a Tower on said Rooffe." Before passing this vote they had not counted the cost. The return of peace had kindled an enterprising spirit, and they were for making improvements; but the means were not at hand. The tower was not built, and thus the church still remained unfinished, the town voting that "the widow Sarah Knight be allowed forty shillings this year for looking after the Meeting House to keep it cleane and deasent," and making upon it occasionally some small repairs. The people were at work, doing what they could to better their condition, and though the Lovewell war was upon them it did not check the growth of the town. The population was rapidly increasing. In 1725, the county tax was £100. Of this Wells was assessed seventeen pounds ten shillings. This, to us, appears to have been a very light burden; but the inhabitants were poor, and it bore heavily upon them. The mill privileges had been granted on the condition that the grantees should pay an annual rent to the town. These rents varied from one pound to five. But the mill owners were backward in their payments. Some had not paid for several years, till the amount had become so large that they were unable to discharge it. A considerable sum was also due for logs cut on the commons, but the debtors failed to respond to the claim against them. No measures had been taken to enforce the payment of these demands. But the mill privileges were the best property in town, and the inhabitants who had no interest in them, and others who had paid their rents regularly, now insisted that all such claims should be collected. At a town meeting in 1723 this subject produced much excitement, and it was voted that John Wells and Samuel Stewart be a committee to collect them, and to sue all who could not be induced otherwise to pay. Thirteen persons had their dissent from this vote entered upon the records, probably from the belief that the debtors were unable to pay.

A new spirit had taken hold of the minds of the people, and though again in the midst of war, they resolved to build a respectable house for the use of the minister. Until within a few years all the houses had been of one story only; but they voted now to build one "two story high, 38 feet long, with an ell 18 feet long and 16 wide," "to be don and compleated at or before the last day of June



next cum twelve months," which would be in 1727. The work was "to be don workmanlike to the turning of the Kee." The house was built by Samuel Stewart, under the direction of John Wheelright, Dependence Littlefield, and Nathaniel Clark. For the whole work he received about \$315. This house is still standing, and has been occupied by the various successive ministers from that time to the present day. After it was finished they built a large barn and repaired the meeting-house, so that now their parochial accommodations were in a very favorable condition. But amidst the uncertainties which prevailed as to a continued peace with the Indians, it was deemed proper and necessary that the house and the minister should be protected against the exigencies of a new war. No one could tell when it would break forth. No reliance was to be placed on treaties, and as a price was paid by the French in former wars, and very probably the same would be done in any future conflict, for captives in proportion to their standing, the minister, so important to the people, might be the first person seized. They therefore took great care for his protection. Rev. Mr. Jefferds, the settled minister, was very popular, and in 1734 the town voted to build a stockade garrison, 65 feet square, which would surround the house and leave an intervening space sufficient for necessary out-door work. Two timber flankers were also added to the house, from which the view of the sentinel would extend to every part of it. How long this stockade stood, or when the flankers were removed from the house, we have not ascertained.

The population had now increased to such an extent that the meeting-house was not large enough to accommodate all who would attend meeting, and the people were obliged to adopt some measures to obviate this trouble. Accordingly, in 1735, it was voted to add twenty-five feet in length to the northwest end, and to make a new roof over the whole; but this vote was very unsatisfactory to many of the leading men. Deacon Thomas Wells, Samuel Wheelright, Joseph Sawyer, Nathaniel Clark, Samuel Clark, Nathaniel Wells, Richard Boothby, Eleazer Clark, Jeremiah Storer, James Wakefield, William Sayer, and Joshua Wells were earnest in opposition to it. These men were all living at a considerable distance from the church, and either wanted a change in the location or an entirely new house. We think the former was the prevailing reason. The next year they voted to finish the inside, and Capt. John Storer,





Francis Littlefield, and Jacob Perkins were chosen a committee to take charge of the business and finish the house. At another meeting the same year they decided to change the pulpit to the middle of the northeast side of the house, to take down the woman's gallery, and to change all the seats so that they would front the pulpit, making one door at the end and one on the side. The house now stood with the end at the road. The prices of the location of the pews were all fixed. These were all sold to "such persons" as were thought proper. The purchasers were to build their own pews, but they were to be built "in uniform as those were already built." The people in the body of the house and in the galleries were to be seated by the committee. This direction to the committee, after the locations were sold, we shall not attempt to explain. But it was more than the people could do to plan the whole house at one time, and another meeting was soon called, when it was voted "that the women and men's seats in the body of the meeting-house be lengthened so far as the room will allow, and fitted up with seats on the back sides;" and at another meeting, a week afterward, it was voted that "the Places for Pews be ordered, Laid out, and assigned to each particular person by the committee, and that the pews should be done and finished in uniform within one month."

It will be remembered that at this time we were the subjects of England, and much of the spirit of English society prevailed among the people. Certain dignitaries were to be provided with the most eligible pews. Dignity seems then to have consisted in the possession of property and of intellectual attainments above the people generally. Republicanism had not yet taken hold of the hearts of the mass of community. All seem to have recognized the pre-eminence which was awarded to high rank, so that no one objected to the priority in selection which was allowed to these prominent men. This acknowledged distinction will appear more clearly hereafter. Some of the dignitaries were already in the possession of pews in the old portion of the house. The committee was now directed to assign seats "to Deacon Thomas Wells, Deacon Samuel Treadwell, Mr. John Littlefield, Mr. Samuel Hatch, Mr. Samuel Emery, Mr. Joseph Wheelright, Mr. David Littlefield, and Mr. Nicholas Cole, for them and their families to sit in." At another meeting, in August, 1737, it was voted that "Joseph Sayer, Esq., have the old doreway that is between his father's Pew and Mr. Francis Little-



field's given him, to be added to his father's Pue," and "that Mr. Samuel Emery, Mr. Dependence Littlefield have the liberty of cutting out a window against each of there Pues of the same bigness of the other windows, and Joseph Sayer of cuting one out against the old doorway now given him of the same bigness, if they will be att the whole cost of cutting and Glasing."

Notwithstanding so many meetings had been called with special reference to the meeting-house, it was not finished, though more than forty years had passed since it was commenced. The people had not been educated, and therefore did not understand the necessity of a plan before they set out upon the work. Every man had his own undigested schemes for its construction or modification, and thus nothing satisfactory to the whole was accomplished.

We have occupied more space in this account of the erection and completion of the meeting-house than may, to some of our readers, seem necessary. But every one will learn from it something of the character of the people, and of their straits in reference to the means of accomplishing the work. The movers in it had the same difficulties to encounter which in every age obstruct the progress of benevolent and useful designs. There were among the people men of mean, selfish spirits, who had no generous, patriotic impulses to lead them to action for the common good. In the year 1737, as we have before stated, one of the matters for which a town meeting was called was to see "wheather the town book shall be a charge to the town, or whether the book shall support itself or not." At another time, a meeting was called solely for the purpose of raising about thirteen dollars to pay off some small debts. But there were others who had sufficient self-respect to control the proceedings, and to allow such trifling matters no consideration.

Though there was no one among the inhabitants who could be termed wealthy, all had hitherto by prudence and industry, kept themselves from becoming a burden upon the town. They knew not what it was to be obliged to maintain a pauper. Each man had looked out for himself and family alone. But now an entirely new question arose to awaken the deliberative powers of the people when in council. One Smith had died, perhaps had been killed in the war. His estate was so entailed as to be unavailable for the payment of his debts, or for the support of his widow and children. The family were thence in rather a suffering condition, and soon, Elizabeth, one





of the daughters, becoming disabled for self-support, required aid from the town; and thence, in Aug., 1724, the first meeting was called, "to consider of some proper way to take care of the pore." But no system was adopted. They simply voted to raise thirteen pounds "to keep her one year." Soon after Margaret, another daughter, was cast on public charity, and afterwards, Mary the mother. Meetings were called, year after year, "to consider what to do with them, that the town might be eased of the vast charge they were at" in providing for them. Elizabeth died in 1740, and the town voted to choose some mete person to sue for the money expended, "if there is any law to get it." But nothing more seems to have been done till 1745, when Pelatiah Littlefield was chosen "to sew widdow Mary Smith's Estate of Wells, or Elsewhere any may be found, to get what the town has expended on the children." But no good resulted from this vote. They then petitioned the general court that the entailment might be taken off, so that they might get hold of the property, but with what success we know not.

There is only one other instance of pauperism up to 1750 which we have discovered. That was the case of Daniel Tucker, of whom our readers have often heard in song, if in no other way. He had become lame and sick and was in "a miserable condition." In January, 1728, a town meeting was called "to consider what may be proper to be don concerning Daniel Tucker, who is not able to do any kind of service." He had been bound to Gershom Maxey, to whom had been paid ten pounds for taking care of him. Meeting after meeting was called to consider of his case; and finally it was said he was "in such a miserable condition that he could not continue long," and Malachi Edwards and Jacob Perkins were chosen a committee "to take care that Daniel Tucker be carried to some Dockter as soon as possible in order for his cure." But the committee did not respond to their commission, and a new meeting was called, when the selectmen were directed to agree with Dr. Bulman of York, at an expense not exceeding fifty pounds, to take the cure and charge of him. Thus he was carried out of town and ceased to trouble the people. When and how he closed his unfortunate life does not appear. But he lived long enough to do some good in the world, though undoubtedly the selfishness of many was gratified in having him out of the way. His contemporaries were compelled to exercise their charity in ministering to him of their abundance.



Many of them, were they now living, would undoubtedly join heart and hand with the boys of our day in singing the popular song, "Get out of the way, old Dan Tucker."

These pauper cases were specially hard on the town, from the fact that the people were, at the same time, called to experience and contend with various other adversities. All New England suffered much at this time from the throat distemper, which according to Smith's journal, first appeared in Kingston, N. H. It is said to have been "the most fatal scourge that ever visited New England, and rapidly hurried its subjects to the grave." "The throat swelled, became colored with ash colored specs; great debility and prostration ensued with putrefaction." In Wells, this disease was very fatal, though we have been unable to ascertain who were the subjects of it, and upon what families it fell with most severity. There was also at the same time a great scarcity of the necessaries of life. Smith says, under the head, April 21, 1737, "All the talk is—no corn, no hay, and there is not a peck of potatoes to eat in all the eastern country." In addition to all these untoward influences, the public mind began to be disturbed from apprehensions of renewed Indian hostilities. These fears harrassed the people many years; and they were not destitute of foundation. In 1740 John Storer was sent by the government to Fort Richmond and St. Georges to repair the forts there, and put them in order for defense. When he arrived at St. Georges' Truck-house, Major Moxus' son Augustin, came to him, saying he was glad to see him, and informed him "that the French had made presents of wampum to the Arrosecuntocook Indians, and that they had taken up the hatchet against the English, and at the same time there were also presents of wampum sent to the Arrosecuntocook Indians to be delivered to the Penobscot tribe, to persnade them into such measures as to take up the hatchet against the English, but the Penobscots utterly refused and sent back the presents," and, therefore, he thought there would be no war this summer. But the confidence thus expressed by the Indian could not entirely remove all anxiety. The French were always intent on kindling and spreading the fires of vengeance among the settlers.

Notwithstanding all the disheartening agencies which were at work to retard the progress of the settlement, and to repress all action beyond that for the immediate support of their families, the interest of the people on the subject of education was annually in-





creasing. The subject of schools, at every meeting, absorbed much attention. Mr. Jefferds, the new minister, was a young man, graduating at Harvard in 1722, and fully appreciating the necessity of schools, he could not have failed to exert his influence on parents, to do what they could to maintain them. Still old thoughts and habits were yet so far in the ascendancy, that no great liberality of expenditure for that purpose could be expected. The scale of life among the people had been one of rigid economy. Everything to be acquired must be at the smallest possible expense; so that in 1724, it was voted that the "selectmen should get an able schoolmaster, to teach in reading, writing and arithmetic;" the school to be six months in the middle of the town, and three months at each end; meaning Ogunquit and Cole's corner; but they were not to pay him over £45, about one hundred and fifty dollars. Under this instruction they secured the services of Richard Dean, who kept school three years. How well qualified he was for the service we have no means of judging. He was not liberally educated, yet he may have been an efficient instructor. But they were obliged to increase the pay to fifty pounds. In 1728, the town voted to have the school kept near the center, that is in the vicinity of the meeting-house, five or six miles from Merryland, and six or seven from Kennebunk, so that those living in these two places were entirely cut off from its benefits; but the dwellers in the village had the control of town affairs in their hands, and the suburbs were powerless and must submit to the action of the majority.

The population was now rapidly extending over the town, and those in the outskirts demanded some share in the appropriation. Of what benefit could a school near the meeting-house be to those living six or seven miles from it? Why should they be compelled to contribute year after year for the maintainance of schools, when they were deprived of all benefit from them? But this argument had no effect, and the town continued to spend the money at the center and the two ends. In 1730, they even voted to spend it all at the center. But those in the precincts could endure this illiberality no longer; and the next year it was voted that the families dwelling in Merryland, being remote from the town and not able to send their children to the town school, should be exempted from paying anything to the town schoolmaster, on condition that they maintained a constant school for teaching their children among themselves, to the value of





twelve pounds or upwards for the year; and the families to the eastward of Mousam river were allowed five pounds, "on condition that they keep a school for teaching their children to that value or upwards." This was the introduction of schools in Merryland and Kennebunk. The people in Ogunquit had this year built a school-house, which was the first in town. The remainder of the money was spent here and at Capt. Samuel Wheelright's at the eastern end. Though there was a little more liberality in the disposition of the money this year than had been manifested before, it does not seem to have had any permanent basis in the convictions of men. It was several years before anything was allowed to Kennebunk. The school was kept at Samuel Stewart's, and near Caleb Kimball's, Samuel Treadwell's, and the town lot. One year "two months schooling" was allowed to Merryland. In 1734, it was voted that two school-houses should be built by the town; one on the ministerial lot, and the other near Deacon Samuel Treadwell's; each of one story, and 22 feet by 16. Of the cost of these school-houses, Kennebunk had to pay about one-fifth, though no benefit whatever accrued to the people of that part of the town. It was not till 1740, that any material allowance was made to them, though they had paid the same proportion of the money raised for schools, as was drawn from them to build these houses. But this year they determined to submit to this grievance no longer, and petitioned that a special meeting be called to obtain the justice which was their due, and at this meeting it was voted "that there be a schoolmaster got for the Remote part of the town for the year ensuing," and four months were allowed for "Kennebunk and Mousam," "two at Arrisicket, and four at Meriland." After this period the action of the town seems to indicate a more generous spirit. In 1741, it was voted that two schoolmasters be provided for the town; one of them a grammar schoolmaster. A portion of four months and a half was allowed to Merryland, and four months in Kennebunk, near James Wakefield's, who lived at the Landing. The schools were kept at private houses in various parts of the town; at John Winn's, Joseph Getchell's, and at Mr. Jefferds'. Nathaniel Harrington was the teacher several years, from 1728. He graduated at Cambridge that year and was a popular instructor. In 1741, they were kept by Andrew Tyler, who graduated in 1738, and afterward became a minister of the gospel. In the same year by John Lester. We know nothing in his favor.



He was arrested for a small debt contracted in Exeter, and probably his connection with the schools then closed. Those from Harvard College were grammar schoolmasters. Lester and Tyler, we suppose, were instructors in the lower schools. Up to 1750, either much of the exclusive spirit which ruled in previous years still lingered among the people, or those [in the ancient part of the town thought the dwellers between the Kennebunk and Mousam, as well as those in Ogunquit and Merryland, were not sufficiently versed in the rudiments of learning, to be prepared for instruction in the higher branches, for, in that year, they voted to have a grammar schoolmaster near Treadwell's, Jefferds' and Cole's, and a schoolmaster at Merryland, Kennebunk and Ogunquit.

During the period covered by this chapter their old enemies, the wolves, so destructive in the early days of the settlement, seem to have caused the people great annoyance. The wilderness was still all about the town, and its recesses afforded them safe places for refuge during the day time, while at night they came forth for havoc, and by their howlings frequently made the darkness hideous, so that the town was always ready to offer a bounty for their destruction. In 1730, five pounds were paid; a few years afterward, eight pounds. In 1747, it was voted that eight pounds should be paid to every person who should kill one; if he killed two, he should have twelve pounds each; if three, sixteen pounds each. The people seem to have been excited and enraged by the destruction which they suffered from them. Some of the hunters who scoured the woods in their pursuit occasionally took advantage of the eagerness of the people to exterminate them, and claimed the bounty in cases not contemplated by the voters, so that in 1734 it was "voted to give five pounds to every person killing a grown wolf and three pound for a wolfe's whelp within the towne, the whelps to be such as are pupied and not found in the bitch's beley." In subsequent years, the game was required to be full grown to claim the highest bounty; a smaller sum was allowed for whelps. The action of the town for the destruction of wolves continued till about 1770, after which the municipal war against them was abandoned.

Town meetings, which were holden at all hours of the day, from eight o'clock in the morning to five in the afternoon, were then, as now, occasions of general interest. The distribution of the school money was a matter which took hold of the attention of all, and





every measure proposed was calculated, to some extent, to come home to the special interest of each inhabitant by its effect on the purse. Their available taxable property was limited. Aside from their stock, there was but little on which they could draw to discharge their public burdens. The settlements were sparse, and each one had abundance of land from which to gather the common necessities of life; but there was no market for their produce. Whether there was a prevailing ambition for office we are unable to answer; but to the office of constable there was intense repugnance. The record shows no reason for this aversion; but it was difficult to find any one who would take upon himself its responsibilities. Sooner than accept it, the people would at once come forward and pay the fine, about sixteen dollars, for refusal. It was, undoubtedly, hard to collect the taxes, and very naturally the collector's reception by the people, when in the prosecution of that duty, was not very cordial. The other business of the office was not very remunerative. The following copy of the return of an officer on a precept now before us shows something of the difficulties of the office, as well as the intellectual culture of the official: "July the first 1756. pursuant to the with In excecution to me directed I tried to take the with In named John Senckler And he would not be taeken, but keeps me of with fors and arms—Jabez Dorman june Constobel." The office was one of importance, and carried with it some dignity, but the opposition to it was very decided. At a meeting of the town, March 29, 1736, Nathaniel Kimball, John Gooch, John Gillpatrick, Richard Kimball, John Wakefield, Jeremiah Littlefield, and David Lawson were successively chosen constables; but each one refused the office and paid down his fine, five pounds. The whole amounted to £35, or about \$120. In consequence of the obnoxiousness of the office, town meetings were frequently called for no other business than to choose a constable in place of some one who had declined.

Died July 12, 1743, JOSEPH HILL, aged 73. He was the son of Roger Hill, of Saco, who married Mary Cross, of Wells, 1658. He was a prominent man among the inhabitants, though he does not appear to have been much in public office. We are inclined to the opinion that he sympathized much with the English aristocracy, and that his intercourse was marked with that courteous and gentlemanly demeanor which the best civilization of that day inculcated. He



had a good property, and indulged in a style of life above that of most of the people of that period, and was anxious that the dignity of the family should be maintained through all coming time. He therefore made such an entail of his estate that from generation to generation it should "bear up" the name of Hill. He was commissioned as a magistrate, and was representative in 1727; collector of the excise in 1734. Various municipal offices were committed to him, and in the disposition of pews in the meeting-house the best appears to have been conceded to him, as a matter of propriety. He had three slaves, Sharper, Plato, and the "negro boy Tom." In his will he gave the first and the last to his wife, Plato to his son Nathaniel, and to the church and the minister each ten pounds. His wife, the mother of his children, was Hannah Littlefield, who died Oct. 10, 1738. Having no sympathy with celibacy, and his own experience concurring with the declaration of Infinite Wisdom that it "is not good for man to be alone," he two months afterward, Dec. 12, 1738, married Sarah, daughter of Daniel Sayer.

He had five children, Joseph, Benjamin, Nathaniel, Hannah, and Peninah. Joseph married Mary Emery; Nathaniel married Priscilla Littlefield; Hannah, Rev. Samuel Jefferds.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

NEW CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY—REV. SAMUEL JEFFERDS ORDAINED  
—CHURCH DISCIPLINE—BIOGRAPHY OF MR. JEFFERDS—INVITATION TO  
REV. SAMUEL FAYRWEATHER—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO ORDAIN HIM  
—REV. GIDEON RICHARDSON ORDAINED—HIS DEATH—REV. MOSES HEM-  
MENWAY ORDAINED.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Mr. Emery, the town again set earnestly to work to fill the pulpit. Col. John Wheelright and Deacon Thomas Wells were appointed a committee to visit the headquarters at Boston and Cambridge and obtain some one to preach several Sundays. As they had enjoyed the ministrations of several persons, for some of whom they had decided predilections, the committee were directed to apply first to Mr. Lowell; then to Mr. Thompson; then to Mr. Haile, and then to Mr. Dennis. Mr. Thompson was engaged and preached six weeks. Ministers were then treated with great courtesy and respect. It was customary to designate some persons as an escort to attend them on their return as far as the Piscataqua river. Capt. Joseph Hill and John Storer were appointed to accompany Mr. Thompson and to obtain another candidate. They were requested to apply to Mr. Haile, and also to apologize to Mr. Thompson for so doing, alleging that the town reserved the liberty of employing Mr. Haile or any other person. Mr. Haile preached six weeks. Samuel Stewart and Francis Sayer were chosen to escort him to Piscataqua and to apply to several to preach successively as candidates. Mr. Thompson was to be applied to first, then Mr. Dennis. If both declined, the committee were instructed to engage some other young minister. We suppose the Mr. Thompson here referred to was Rev. William Thompson, who was settled in Scarboro in 1728. The ministers thus employed were paid about four dollars a Sabbath, though in every case the committees were directed, in addition, to give them the thanks of the town





for their visits and services. Neither Thompson nor Dennis acceded to the invitation of the committee, and Mr. Samuel Jefferds, a young man who graduated at Harvard in 1722, was engaged. He preached for them six months, and his services were so acceptable that the church voted to invite him to settle as their minister, and the town unanimously concurred in the vote. Col. John Storer, Deacon Joseph Storer, Mr. Jonathan Littlefield, Samuel Hatch, and Francis Sayer were appointed a committee to extend to him the invitation. The two bodies met together at the meeting-house Nov. 22, 1725, when the following letter from Mr. Jefferds, in reply to the invitation, was read:

"To the Church of Christ in Wells at their meeting now in the Meeting House in said town, and to the inhabitants of said town at their meeting now at the same place.

Hon<sup>d</sup> and Beloved,

It having pleased the LORD Jesus Christ, the Great Head of the Church, who rules in Zion, some Time since, to direct you in the choice of a Minister and Pastor unto me, I cant but admire the condescending Grace of Christ unto me, who am less than the least of all Saints, That I, together with my poor labors, should be acceptable to you his people. I also bear thankful Resentments of your Expressions of Love and Generosity to me, and do hereby declare my acceptance of your Call unto me to the work of the Ministry and the Pastoral Office among you, of a ready mind: Assuring you that I shall give up myself to the Service of Christ according to my Measure, for the promoting the Spiritual and everlasting Good of you and yours, as not doubting but you will ever provide according to your Ability for the honorable Support of the Gospel and my comfortable Subsistence with you, and so requesting your Prayers to God for me that he would enable by his Grace faithfully to perform The work and Service whereunto you have called me, I am your Servant for Jesus sake. Nov. 21, 1725. SAMUEL JEFFERDS."

Dec. 15th was appointed the day for his ordination. This consecration of a minister to his work was, in that day, regarded as an occasion of great public interest. The people gathered together from all the surrounding towns. The candidate was to be set apart for life. The short pastorates of a few years only had their origin



within the present century. The order of proceeding did not differ materially from that now pursued, though we judge from the record that one part of the ceremony has been dispensed with in modern times. It is said that he was ordained to the pastoral office "by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery of the Church of York, the two Churches of Kittery, and the Church of Berwick." These churches were represented by their pastors and delegates. The Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, made the introductory prayer. The Rev. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick, preached from Acts xx. 24. Rev. Mr. Newcomb, of Kittery, gave the charge, and the Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Kittery, the right hand of fellowship. The Bible was not then read at ordinations, or as one of the services of the Sabbath.

Mr. Jefferds appears to have been a very acceptable minister, quietly pursuing his pastoral duties. We assume it as highly probable that the rules adopted by the church for the government of the body of communicants were suggested by him. They were not of a very rigorous character. The requirements for admission were not such as to exclude any whose outward morality was not inconsistent with the demands of the gospel. One which was adopted soon after his ordination, does not seem to us to indicate a very high estimate of the requisitions of a professed Christian discipleship. "No person," says the rule, "who has fallen into any scandalous sin shall be admitted before he shall make a particular public confession of and repentance for such sin and offense before them, provided the fall and offense be public," and should have none of the privileges of the covenant. We are in doubt as to the intended import of the last clause of this rule, and therefore forbear comment. But it cannot be supposed that any Christian church would think of admitting to membership a person upon whom such a stigma had fallen. The adoption of this regulation would seem to imply that any man who had been guilty of an odious crime, might purge himself from its criminality by merely confessing his aberration and declaring his repentance of it. It would seem much more consonant with the principles of a sound Christianity that such an one, whose spirit was thus diseased, should remain on probation a long time before being permitted to come up to the Lord's table, that is, if any man assumes to have authority to determine who shall enjoy the privilege. If any barriers are to be placed around it, they should be of such a character as to exclude all whose lives are not in fellowship with the





life and example of the Master. But Mr. Jefferds was of a kind and charitable spirit. Sensible of his own fallibility, he was disposed to look upon the aberrations of his fellow-men with, perhaps, more of pity and commiseration than true charity would require. He would not break the bruised reed. Notwithstanding the strict requirements made of the disciple of the Master, he was ready to come to the aid of the unfortunate offender in the dark hour of his sin. We see this in several instances during his ministry. Even the deacon, Thomas Wells, who, for his obliquities during the pastorate of Mr. Emery, had been suspended from the church in 1732, seems to have been guilty of a little dissimulation in his apology for again neglecting to provide for and set the communion table. "It was entirely owing," he said, "to his misunderstanding of Mrs. Hatch, whom he employed to bake the bread and set the table. He supposed, when he asked if she had the flour, she answered in the affirmative, though he said she had not." But he had been guilty of the neglect for two successive Sabbaths, and the failure must have been the subject of conversation in the daily intercourse of the communicants. Yet he seems to have delayed offering any explanation until a church meeting was called to inquire into the matter, and then, after its adjournment, he presents his equivocal apology. We cannot refrain from the conclusion that his disregard of his plain duty had its source in some other cause than that which was stated, and yet the church and the minister were satisfied with the explanation.

So also at a meeting in 1733, the record says: "the confessions offered to the church by two of the brethren thereof, respecting their disorderly walk, are satisfactory;" and again in 1734, at a church meeting holden at the meeting-house, "occasioned by Peter Littlefield wounding his brother John Littlefield by a blow in his anger upon some matter of difference between them," upon the said Peter's confessing his fault therein, and professing his repentance therefor, the church was satisfied; while John Littlefield was faulty in some measure himself in receiving the blow; and the members of the church were required to use their influence to make him sensible of it. Again in 1736, "the offense given unto the church by William Patten, in the Hand it appears to them he had in promoting the forging of Bills in imitation of public bills of Credit lately found out, and in uttering of them, being considered, the Church voted that William Patten shall make a public confession of his above



mentioned offense unto the whole Church, immediately before the next administration of the Lord's supper, and give the same into the Church in writing as he would expect to be admitted to the privilege of special ordinances with them;" and accordingly he confessed "his having had a criminal hand in the scandalous affair respecting bills forged, repenting sincerely;" and he was on this re-admitted, though a long while suspended. In 1738, Joseph Hamlin confessed having received stolen goods, and the church were satisfied.

Although these proceedings exhibit much of a charitable and forgiving spirit on the part of minister and people, yet when it is considered that the Eucharist was held by the church to be under their care and control, we cannot but feel that more latitude was here given to human frailties, than was consistent with a wise oversight of these Christian ordinances. We cannot believe that in these cases the religion of Christ was the ruling principle of life, and that the offenses were such slight departures from it, that confession and professed repentance should have authorized condonation and renewed fellowship. If Mr. Jefferds and the church had regarded the table as the Lord's, they might very well, so far as concerned themselves, have pardoned the injury which had been done, leaving to the transgressors alone the responsibility of coming to the holy sacrament unworthily.

Mr. Jefferds, though endowed with but ordinary intellectual power, was useful in his ministerial relations. He evidently labored to promote a kind and peaceful disposition among his people, so that he drew to himself their sympathy and good will. And they in return, were ready to come to his help in all his domestic concerns. The dwelling-house of which we have spoken was built for him; and as the money currency was continually depreciating, the town voted several successive years to add thirty pounds to his salary. In 1736, it was increased eighty pounds. In 1738, one hundred; afterward, one hundred and fifty; and then three hundred. And more than all, as exhibiting their strong attachment to him, and readiness to make any sacrifice on his account, in 1748 they called a town meeting, "to act and do anything that may be thought Proper and Reasonable, in any affair wherein the Rev. Samuel Jefferds be concerned." Afterward in 1749, Joseph Sayer, Joshua Wells, Samuel Stuart, Nathaniel Wells, Caleb Kimball, Benjamin Stevens, Richard Boothby, Daniel Morrison and Gershom Maxwell were chosen a committee to





"Consider the Difference of money and the Necessaries of life now from what they were when Rev. Samuel Jefferds was settled among us, and to see whether the town has made his sallery as Good from time to time as what he first agreed for."

Mr. Jefferds did all he could for the harmony of his people. Having imbibed much of the spirit of puritanism, and educated in the principles of congregationalism, he could not but feel that any departure from it should not be encouraged or tolerated. One Daniel Rogers, an itinerant preacher in 1742, addressed to him a letter, requesting his influence to obtain for him liberty "to preach the everlasting gospel." But he refused to favor his request. Order in the ministry was then considered to be material to the growth of a sound religion. The church also opposed the granting of any such license.

Mr. Jefferds was strongly impressed with the opinion that Quakerism was a great evil, as were the divines of Massachusetts generally. This hostility against this harmless denomination, although more intense in the preceeding century, when the sect were styled vagabonds and enemies of Christianity, and were not allowed to abide in any of the towns, but were driven out and whipped, and if they returned even put to death, continued till near the close of Mr. Jefferds' ministry, though it had in some measure abated. The ministers in Maine were much troubled by its extension in this Province, and held fasts in different places, to implore the Divine interposition to stay its progress. Under the date of July 3, 1740, says Smith's Journal, "The church kept a day of fasting; and prayer on account of the spread of Quakerism. Mr. Jefferds and myself prayed A. M. Mr. Thompson preached; Mr. Allen and Mr. Lord prayed, and Mr. Willard preached P. M." Sept. 17, 1741, "a fast was holden at Wells," probably on the same account. "Mr. Jefferds prayed and I preached, P. M., and was more than two hours in the sermon; preached extempore all the application, had great help."

We are not to ascribe the apprehensions of these faithful servants of the master to any illiberality of feeling. The doctrines and habits of the Friends were repugnant to all the theology, modes of worship, and of church edification to which they had been accustomed from early life; and they felt deeply that their prevalence would endanger the peace and perhaps the existence of the church of Christ. New England was not then so far enlightened as to have divested itself of all the follies, superstitions, conceits, and erroneous opinions which





marked the previous century. The church still continued to feel that there was no religion without its pale; and thence recognized the importance of a constant striving against the entrance of noxious error.

Mr. Jefferds was, we may well suppose, the leader in his own precinct in all measures, having for their object, the promotion of a sound religion; and was ready to endorse all action fitted to give it strength and vitality. It was considered then, that one object of law was to compel men to an obedience to its precepts. Every man was thence required to place himself in position for the reception of religious instruction. This duty was enforced, without respect of persons. In 1737, Samuel Emons, Edward Evans, Caleb Kimball, Samuel Littlefield, Edmund Littlefield, and Edmund Littlefield, jr., were all indicted for not attending public worship. These men lived in Kennebunk, seven miles from the meeting-house, and found it very inconvenient to attend church on the Sabbath. But we are inclined to the belief that their attachments to the sanctuary were not very strong. Others were guilty of the same neglect. This indifference was strikingly manifest about the middle of Mr. Jefferds' ministry, when so many were accustomed to neglect public worship that a committee of the church was appointed to inquire into the causes of this non-attendance. Mr. Jefferds was probably a little slack in his preparations for the pulpit. He owned a part of a saw-mill at Great Falls, the profits of which may have had too much sway over his sense of obligation to his people. Still we believe him to have been, on the whole, faithful to his trust; and that his failure, if any, was in his misconception of the needs of the human soul. His preaching, though sound, did not come to his hearers with sufficient power to bind them to the altar. The generality of men, then as now, preferred excitement to logic. Some of the ministers looked on the revival growing out of the preaching of Whitefield in 1743, as seriously jeopardizing the great interests of religion. But the discontents were principally in Massachusetts. In Maine, nearly all were united in its support, though they strongly condemned much of the theology to which it had given rise as repugnant to the teachings of Christ; still more, the dangerous practices which had become current, especially that of illiterate men attempting to become preachers of the gospel, and assuming authority to judge the hearts of others, and denouncing those who could not assent to their views.



in reference to the mode of preaching, and the manifestation of its effects. Mr. Jefferds sustained the revival, though with much misgiving as to the danger in which the order of the gospel was involved. It does not seem to have reached Wells. The excitement died away without any additions to the church.

During the ministry of Mr. Jefferds he baptized 484 males and 451 females. In the later years of his ministry he occasionally preached at Kennebunk, to which place he was escorted in military style, several citizens of that part of the town usually going to Wells on horseback, with their arms, and accompanying him on his journey from his home, and also on his return. Great care was taken during his whole pastorate for his protection and comfortable support. We have not learned that any dissatisfaction with his parochial services or personal deportment ever existed. He was a man with, and of the people.

Mr. Jefferds was the son of Simon Jefferds of Salem, Mass., where he was born in 1703. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. John Wheelright, Oct. 27, 1727, and died of pleuretic fever, Feb. 1, 1752. Forty pounds were raised by the parish to pay the expenses of his funeral, and his salary was continued to his widow to the end of the year, during which time, also, she was allowed to occupy the parsonage house.

The people set about the matter of filling the vacancy immediately after the death of Mr. Jefferds. Mr. Samuel Fayrweather, who graduated at Cambridge in 1743, was requested to preach as a candidate. He supplied the pulpit two months, and the church was so well satisfied with his services that he received a unanimous vote to settle over them in the ministry. The town also on the sixteenth of June voted to concur with the church in the invitation, and to offer him a salary of £93 6s. 8d. The records give us no information as to the division in the balloting on this subject. It is very manifest that there were some dissentients. The disagreement was not abated by lapse of time. The invitation was duly extended to Mr. Fayrweather, but he made no reply to it. Month after month the town waited for his answer. After waiting nine months, March 16, the following answer was returned. It gives no apology for the strange procrastination. Neither does it exhibit any appreciation of the injury done to the society by his negligence.





"To the First Church of Christ in Wells, and to the Inhabitants of said town now at their Meeting House.

Grace, Mercy & Peace be multiplied unto you and yours through Jesus Christ our Lord.

As gratitude is esteemed among the Social virtues the greatest, so I can do no less (at this time) than thank you for unmerited Respect, in constantly attending on my ministrations and giving me a unanimous call to the work of the sacred ministry among you. You have all had a taste of my gifts and see that by the grace of God, I am what I am; unto me who am the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. As it is eleven months since I gave you my first Fruits, and nine since I was honored with your call, it may now be reasonably expected that I give my final answer respecting this matter, and my answer to you, gentlemen, is, upon the maturest deliberation, that I accept the call, not for filthy lucre's sake, but of a ready mind; humbly relying on the Strength and Grace of Christ, to assist me in a so arduous and important a work. May I be a precious Gift of an ascended Saviour, a workman that need not not be ashamed! rightly dividing the word of Truth, and giving to every one his portion in due Season. May a double portion of that spirit which rested on my dear and worthy Predecessors, descend on and animate me through all the parts and branches of my duty. Brethren, pray for me, and as you have voted such a sum so cheerfully for my Support, so do I confide in you for the Punctual Payment of it according to your vote. So giving myself up to God in the First Place, I most heartily by his blessed Will, resign myself up to you his people in your service in the Glorious Gospel. Subscribing myself most affectionately your Servant for Jesus' sake.

SAMUEL FAYRWEATHER."

Notwithstanding the objections in the minds of a portion of the town, the 23d day of May, 1753, was appointed for his ordination. He had some strong friends in the church, among whom were the Wheelrights, Col. John Storer, Capt. John Winn, Peter Littlefield, Daniel Chaney and others. A council of more than fifty was called to advise and assist at the ordination. But the opponents could not be reconciled to the proceeding. We have not learned all the objections to the candidate. But, we think the leading one was his insult to the society in delaying his response to their invitation nearly



a year; probably with the hope of obtaining a position more favorable to his personal interests; and further, that he had been guilty of some "inprudences," which we find nowhere specifically stated. The attempt to ordain him had created a great excitement, so that that charity which thinketh no evil, was not very manifest in the intercourse and proceedings of all the parties. The objections, we suppose, were well understood by all the churches before the council assembled, as some, who were chosen delegates, and did not attend, sent their dissent to the ordination in writing. Forty-eight were present. Of these, thirty-six were favorable to Mr. Fayrweather and twelve against him. The majority regarded the objections as trifling and uncharitable; but as the opposition was so strong, and might increase to such an extent as to jeopardize the harmony of the society, they adjudged it best that he should not be ordained; though at the same time they denounced the heat and uncharitableness of the opposition, as "an infringement upon the rights of society." They regarded the candidate as of unblemished character, and recommended him to the service of all the churches.

He yielded to the adjudication of the council with becoming complacency, praying that it might be "overruled in much mercy to the church and congregation, and that the people might be led to own the hand of God in it," though he was "greatly concerned for Wells, and his heart trembled for the ark of God in that place," and he would still "pray that peace might be within its walls." We have but little knowledge of Mr. Fayrweather beyond what is developed in these proceedings. Soon after the decision of the council, he preached two Sundays at one of the leading churches in Boston with such acceptance that he was invited to supply the pulpit two Sundays more.

The council having thus refused assent to the ordination of Mr. Fayrweather, the church and town were necessitated to seek another candidate. Gideon Richardson, of Sudbury, was invited to preach. He had graduated at Harvard in 1749. At this time education was esteemed so essential by all the people that it was difficult for one who was not a graduate of some college to find acceptance with a council of Congregational ministers. We are unable to state with whom he studied in preparation for the ministry; but the people were highly pleased with his pulpit services, and at a meeting of the church on the 22d day of October, 1753, it was voted unanimously

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for assimilation and the creation of a new American identity. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of diverse peoples, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for equality and the recognition of the rights of all citizens. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of free people, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for liberty and the protection of the rights of all citizens. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of people who are proud of their country and its achievements, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for the preservation of the United States and the promotion of its interests.



to extend to him a call to the pastoral office. At a town meeting on the 12th of November following, it was voted to concur with the church in this invitation, and to give him as a salary eighty pounds with the use of the parsonage. The invitation was accepted, and the 27th of February, 1754, designated for his ordination. On this occasion fifteen churches were assembled in council. The public services were opened with prayer by Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland. Sermon by the Rev. Mr. Loring, from 2d Thess. v. 11, 12. Rev. Mr. Wise, of Berwick, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Thompson the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Seth Storer offered the concluding prayer. Mr. Storer was the son of Joseph Storer, of Wells.

Our knowledge of Mr. Richardson is very meagre. The unanimity with which he was invited to settle over the parish speaks well of his ministerial qualifications. He appears to have been firm in the principles of Congregationalism and decided in his action. In those days, whatever was done by the church may well be regarded as done at the suggestion and with the support of the minister. The question of the settlement of Mr. Clark over the second church in Falmouth, in 1755 and 1756, produced great excitement in all the churches. A violent opposition arose in the town against his ordination. A large council was called which sustained the opposition. Again and again the churches were invited to convene to ordain him; but though at four different times Mr. Richardson was invited to attend with delegates he declined to do so. The ministers could not agree as to the course of action in settling the question. Some contended, we suppose, that every minister and delegate should vote; others that all votes should be taken by churches. Mr. Little refused to attend and participate in the council unless the proceedings were governed by the latter rule. Richardson, we think, took the same view of it. The fact that a large council had once refused ordination was conclusive with him and his church.

But during his pastorate another vote was passed by the church which does not, in our view, exhibit a very wise judgment of the interests of the church. The record says that there was "a great prevalency of a violation of the seventh commandment," and looking upon it to be the duty of the church "to do something to suppress this gross and scandalous sin," it was voted "that all such persons residing among us as shall be guilty of the violation of the seventh commandment shall not be restored to the charity of the





church without making a written acknowledgment of their sin and profession of their repentance before the church and in the presence of the congregation." The man who would be guilty of the offense, if it was known in the community, would have no hesitation in professing repentance, or in signing an acknowledgment of his transgression. Promises and professions are of little value in comparison with a life of integrity and unbending fidelity.

During his short life Mr. Richardson seems to have been successful in his ministrations. While thus settled at Wells, he baptized 109 males and 110 females. We presume that he was constitutionally feeble. The great earthquake, it was said, gave a severe shock to his nervous system, from the effects of which he never recovered. He died on the 17th day of March, 1758. His funeral was probably attended by large numbers, as great preparations were made for the occasion. Among the provisions made were four gallons of rum, four pairs of gloves, turkey, chickens, and a ring. For what purpose the latter was furnished we cannot state.

Mr. Richardson was followed by Moses Hemmenway, who subsequently became one of the most eminent theologians of New England. He was duly ordained on the eighth day of August, 1759. His uncle, Rev. Phineas Hemmenway, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Lyman, of York, offered the ordaining prayer; Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Little, of the Second Parish, the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Mr. Lancton, of York, made the concluding prayer. At ordinations, as well as funerals, the physical man was carefully provided for, and on this occasion, to sustain the body, while provision was thus being made for the soul, three gallons of rum were purchased, wine to the value of £1 10s. 6d., and cider, £1 2s. 6d.

Dr. Hemmenway having attained a high rank among the distinguished men of the last century, we shall endeavor to give a full biographical sketch of his character in a future chapter.



## CHAPTER XXV.

EXPEDITION TO LOUISBURG—LIST OF VOLUNTEERS FROM WELLS—LETTERS OF GEN. PEPPERELL, COL. STORER, REV. SAMUEL JEFFERDS, MRS. BULMAN—LIST OF SOLDIERS WHO DIED AT CAPE BRETON—FEARS ENTERTAINED OF AN ATTACK BY THE FRENCH FLEET—SHIPWRECK ON MT. DESERT—INDIAN ATTACKS UPON BRUNSWICK, FALMOUTH, SCARBORO, AND SACO—ANECDOTE OF JOHN BUTLAND—MURDER OF MRS. WALKER—ATTEMPT TO SURPRISE LARRABEE'S GARRISON—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF COL. JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

DURING nearly twenty years of peace the population of the town had largely increased, and the inhabitants, by the steady pursuit of their various employments, had gained material strength. The Indians had, with good fidelity, fulfilled the obligations of the treaty and were on terms of friendly intercourse with them. Some, as stated in another chapter, were living, a portion of the year, in different places in the town of Wells. Their numbers had been much reduced by the former wars. The English settlements at Arundel, Biddeford, Saco, and on the seacoast as far as Pemaquid had been renewed, and thus an active population of many thousands was spread over the Province, so that the fears, which, in former years, had paralyzed the arm of industry and filled life in the wilderness with fearful anxieties, had ceased to trouble the minds of the inhabitants. But the Indians were yet under the control of the French priesthood. The power of treaties, the most solemn, was insufficient to overcome its baneful influence. A war had arisen between England and Spain, and France, ever ready for any enterprise which might curtail the power of the former, joined hands with Spain, and thus again introduced here the flame of discord and strife. The old spirit of revenge against their neighbors was kindled again in the hearts of the Indians.

The French had attacked Canseau and destroyed the whole village before any knowledge of the war had reached Boston. They





also attacked the garrison at Annapolis, though they failed to capture it. The eastern Indians, it was found, were also engaged in these assaults on the English possessions, and the government declared war against them, while every exertion was put forth to calm the tribes who were scattered within or bordered upon the Provinces. Gov. Shirley wrote to Pepperell to charge upon the people here to avoid all provocations which might excite them to engage in the war against us: Pepperell wrote to Major Storer to endeavor to impress this caution on the people, and to see that they were provided with arms and ammunition, concluding that "if an enemy should come upon any place, and the people should be destroyed for want of arms and ammunition, I think their blood would be much upon the officers' hands." A large stock of ammunition had been forwarded to Wells and was deposited with Storer. An embargo had also been ordered, which he was to take care should be rigidly enforced. Volunteers were called for to watch the movements of the Indians and to allay the fears of the inhabitants. These were scattered in various parts of the Province, and, strange as it may appear at the present day, rewards were offered by Massachusetts for the scalps of Indians, man, woman, or child, an offer not less repugnant to all our ideas of national rectitude than were the artful machinations of the Jesuits, to lead the natives to murder our people and burn our houses, to the spirit of Christianity.

But there was now no misunderstanding as to the duty of the government. The French were openly the foes of the English, and the provincials determined on some decided action to humble an enemy who had always been secretly at war with the peace and prosperity of the people. Louisburg was the strongest fortress on the continent. It was called the Dunkirk of America, the French regarding it as material to the maintainance of their possessions here, that it should be impregnable. The Catholic religion was viewed by New England as the leading element of the almost continual strife in which they had been involved with the natives. The priests had been constantly laboring to impress on the savage mind the duty of checking the settlements of the English, under the pretense that they were to be driven from the lands. Puritan New England was soon aroused to the great importance of an enterprise against this stronghold of Catholic France. Never since the settlement of this continent commenced has there been such a general



awakening to the necessity and importance of a public measure. All the religion of the Provinces was interested in the war against the infidels, as their enemies were regarded. Louisburg must be wrested from the enemy. This determined spirit removed all difficulties in obtaining the proper armament, and the people, with one soul, were ready for the expedition.

Four hundred men were enlisted in the county of York. Wells, having then about two hundred and fifty able bodied men, had a large share in the operations which were set on foot, and thence we feel called upon to give more fully the details of the expedition. Our statements in relation to it are founded almost entirely upon original documents. To Sir William Pepperell, as lieutenant general, was committed the whole charge of the expedition. Thirteen vessels of war, in addition to the transports, were to make up the necessary naval force, and about four thousand troops were engaged for the service. Pepperell entered upon his duties with great zeal, feeling it highly important that the whole force should be in front of the city before the people within should have any knowledge that an attempt was on foot to besiege it.

Major John Storer was ordered to enlist a company in Wells. So earnest were the people to forward the expedition, that his company was soon made up by enlistments, and we believe in a single day. Nearly all of them were of Wells. The following is the list of those who volunteered and embarked under him on board the transports:

|                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Col. John Storer, Captain,    | John Crediford,    |
| John Fairfield, 1st Lieut.,   | Joseph Webber,     |
| Nathaniel Kimball, 2d Lieut., | Edward Evans,      |
| Daniel Sayer, Clerk,          | Ichabod Dunham,    |
| Enoch Davis, Sergeant,        | Joseph Crediford,  |
| Benjamin Hatch, "             | James Jepson,      |
| Ichabod Cousins, "            | Edmund Welch,      |
| John Look, "                  | Isaac Danforth,    |
| Benjamin Jellison, Corporal,  | Joseph Taylor,     |
| Joshua Kimball, "             | John Dean,         |
| Pendleton Fletcher, "         | Benjamin Curtis,   |
| Jonathan Adams, "             | Phillip Devotion,  |
| Joshua Lassell,               | Thomas Wheelright, |
| Matthew Robison,              | John Burks,        |



William Robison,  
 Charles White,  
 James Littlefield,  
 Ebenezer Littlefield,  
 Matthew Linsey,  
 Joseph Curtis,  
 Elimuel Clark,  
 Caleb Kimball,  
 Isaac Buswell, Drummer,  
 Joshua Adams,  
 John Kenne,  
 John Huston,  
 James Reed,  
 William Curtis,  
 John Sinkler,  
 Aaron Lord,  
 Ichabod Jellison,

James Gillpatrick,  
 Peter Rich,  
 John Bagshaw,  
 John McDaniel,  
 John Eldridge,  
 James Littlefield, jr.,  
 James Read,  
 Simeon Merryfield,  
 John Canaway,  
 Benjamin Jacobs,  
 Michael Wilson,  
 Jedediah Preble,  
 Gershom Boston,  
 Joseph Boston,  
 Shebuleth Boston,  
 Thomas Boston.

Pepperell was earnest for the greatest possible dispatch. He writes to Major Storer, "Kittery, Feb. 20, 1744. Your favour of y<sup>e</sup> 19th inst. I received, and if Mr. Preble can get his sloop reddey, I am nothing against his Sloop being improved, provid<sup>d</sup> it is agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> other Field officers, my Dear Friend y<sup>e</sup> time of year hastens away, and His Excell<sup>y</sup> Expects our Regiment in Boston by y<sup>e</sup> mid<sup>d</sup> of next week without faile. I want to know where you have Enlisted yo<sup>r</sup> full complement of men—and a list of them. I have no Enlisting money sent me, but have advanced to my Company five pounds old tenor to Each man—the money will be sure and we shall have it when we go to Boston—I have lent considerable, and desire to goo to Portsmouth and borrow some out of their Treasury and pay them in Boston, as they will have occasion for money there; if you want and cannot borrow it at Wells, com over and I will lend you some. Pray let us make dispatch.

I am Your assured Friend & servant,

I trust that God will be with us on this Expedition and deliver our enemy into our hands. Then we shall be able to give him all y<sup>e</sup> Hon. & Glory. Everything I hear of is Encouraging—hasten and get your men my dear Friend."

WM. PEPPERELL.





The next day, before receiving a reply from Storer, he writes again: "Kittery, Feb. 21, 1744. Dear Sir. I have some money for your Enlisted soldiers. I want to see you—much—hasten here. we must get the vessels redy to Sail with our men—for Boston—next monday—hasten my Good Friend, if cannot make up your Company take Lu<sup>t</sup> Perkins of Arrundell your first Lu<sup>t</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> men he has En-listed. I am— Your assured Friend.

WM. PEPPERELL."

The troops from Wells were speedily ready, and were transported to Boston by water. No one ever entered upon a work under a deeper sense of his responsibility than did Pepperell upon this. He was a man of unflagging energy, and of an all-controlling, sound moral principle. His soul was absorbed in the preparation for the great and difficult enterprise which had been entrusted to his charge; and by his untiring exertions, the whole armament was ready and sailed from Boston on the 24th of March, being less than two months from the time it was resolved upon by the general court.

The intense interest excited among the inhabitants of Wells by this expedition, cannot be comprehended by us. Husbands and sons had left their farms, and freely offered themselves for all the hazards of the undertaking. More than one-quarter of the population had left their homes for this service. Several of the volunteers were nearly sixty years of age, and some but sixteen. All knew and appreciated the dangers and hardships to which they must be exposed in the siege of the stronghold. To many, the parting seemed like severing the ties of life, and "tears were shed like rain." Great anxiety was felt for the issue of the terrible contest. When governor Shirley first proposed the project of capturing the city, great opposition arose from many who doubted the wisdom and expediency of such an attempt, feeling assured that success was almost impossible. The French had been engaged twenty-five years, and had expended five million dollars in endeavoring to make it impregnable to assaults from any quarter. But the men on whom Pepperell depended were enured to hardships, having experienced so much suffering from the savage wars, which they knew had been instigated, and in a great measure sustained by the French, they were ready and yearning for the proposed retaliation, at whatever cost.

The fleet arrived at Canso on the fourth of April. Two or three



of the transports, having on board the artillery, ammunition and stores, having been separated from the fleet in bad weather, did not arrive till some days afterward, which caused some delay in the operations against Louisburg. After their arrival they were further delayed by the discovery that many of the guns of the soldiers were unfit for the service, and that there was a deficiency of provisions, so that one of the transports was despatched to give Gov. Shirley notice of that fact. The men were all in high spirits and eager for the work, and Pepperell did not delay for the provisions. But in consequence of the head winds and ice, the squadron did not leave Canso till the 29th. Our readers, we think, will be interested in the following letter from Major Storer. It indicates something of the religious spirit which pervaded the public mind, and which did so much to strengthen the hands and cheer the hearts of those who were engaged in this perilous enterprise. "Canso, April 26. My Dear wife. Having an opportunity I cheerfully embrace it to let you know that I am in some measure of health, but have been subject to a cold as is frequent in the army. But at present am in as general health as may be expected. Our several friends and neighbors from Wells, with Mr. Daniel Sayer are desirous to be remembered to their several respective families and friends. Monday, Capt. Durell in a forty gun ship from Boston came into Canso Harbour, and anchored. Tuesday following, ten o'clock, morning, Commodore Warren in a sixty gun ship, and one ship of fifty guns, and one forty gun ship, came to the mouth of Canso Harbour. Then joined by Capt. Durell. Which four ships of war sailed in line of battle, being an agreeable appearance to the army. Those ships of war are guarding of the coast of Cape Breton. Our guard vessels, viz., Capt. Snelling and Fletcher & Capt. Dunaheew & Capt. Swan, on the 17th & 18th inst. took two French Brigantines from Martineco bound to Cape Breton, chiefly laden with rum and molasses and brought them into Canso. We also have retaken several of our schooners and one provision schooner bound to Newfoundland, that came from Boston, Capt. Adams, Master. Capt. Dunaheew has taken eight Indians more. April 8, 10 o'clock morning, there being a large French ship in sight, our guard vessels began with her. We heard the great guns, broadside and broadside, and chase guns constantly firing. In the night we saw the flash of the great guns some minutes before we heard them. Capt. Rouse, with Mr. Moody on board with him, being the last that





left the French ship, for they could not come up with her. Sabbath day, April 21st, four of Col. Willards men were getting wood some distance from the vessels, and without their guns. Two Frenchmen and one Indian fired one gun, and took and made them prisoners, and drove them away eight or ten miles; but our men took an opportunity and fell upon the Frenchmen and the Indian and made them prisoners, and brought them back near their boat. But by some misfortune the Indian suddenly started and run quite away. Major General Wolcott with eight sail of vessels, and his quota of men from Connecticut arrived here yesterday the 24th inst. and joined our troops. The reason of our being yet at Canso, the ice being yet in so great bodies and the bays so full, we could not safely proceed, but expect to now every moment, when winds and weather will permit. I now, my dear wife, tenderly and heartily remember my constant love to you and our dear children. Duty to my honored, aged parents,—best regards to Rev. Mr. Jeffers and family, Dr. Sayer and all friends. I desire, in sincerity of soul, to commit myself and each of you into the hands of a gracious God and our Saviour, who is able to keep us in all our ways, and to build us up in his most holy faith, and make us meet for his Heavenly kingdom. I ask your continued prayers for me and all our friends engaged in the expedition, that God would be pleased to vouchsafe to go with us, and grant us the desired success; and in his own due time be returned to our native land, and our dear friends in safety. And that he would prepare us to give all the praise and glory to him, if he shall so favour us, is the desire and prayer of your affectionate, sincere and loving husband till death.

JOHN STORER.

Gen. Pepperell is in good health. I have had the honor of his company with his Secretary to lodge on board in Canso harbour with me three nights. My tender love remembered to my brother Storer, their wives and children, to Deacon Barret and all friends—earnestly desiring an interest and remembrance in your prayers."

To Mrs. Elizabeth Storer at Wells, in New England."

This project of New England to capture Cape Breton, had not been made known to the king. Yet he had sent to Com. Warren, then on the coast of the West Indies, to co-operate with the Colonies in any of their enterprises where he could afford efficient aid. Warren at once entered into the spirit of the hour. Full of zeal and



thirsting for action, he wrote to Pepperell, "For God's sake let us do something and not waste our time in indolence." Pepperell was not the man to interpose objections to immediate action; and they at once went to work. The first object was to destroy St. Peters, a village of two or three hundred inhabitants; and a detachment was sent forward for that purpose, under Col. Moulton. As the Wells troops were under him, it is probable that they were a portion of it. They soon accomplished their errand, having destroyed the settlement, taken some plunder and some prisoners, burnt four schooners and brought off one.

On the 30th of April, the fleet arrived at the intended harbor, and all embarked to commence the siege. They were immediately attacked by a small force, who were speedily driven back, and fled to the garrison. Soon afterward, what was termed the Grand Battery was deserted, but for what reason the assailants could not conjecture. It seemed to them to have been almost impregnable. This success worked up new enthusiasm in the Provincial army. They seemed to have new assurance that the God of battles was with them, and that their highest hopes would be realized. The following letter from Storer, who appears to have been promoted to a colonelcy, shows how exhilarating was the effect of this success, and how strong was the confidence that special Divine aid would attend their exertions.

"At the Camp, Cape Breton, May 21, 1745. My Dear and tender wife. I embrace this moment of time with my heart full of love, drawn out to you and our dear children, with duty to our dear honored mother, love to the Rev. Mr. Jefferds and spouse. We are hazarding our lives in the field of battle. But we believe and trust that the Lord, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth—the ever living and true God goeth before us and fighteth for us. We have seen and beheld it with our eyes. What cause have we to admire and adore the riches of free grace. I humbly desire to mourn and grieve that I ever should offend so glorious a God and bountiful benefactor, as to provoke him to turn his face from us. But I heartily desire to seek his face and favor, hoping that good may come unto us, not our wills—knowing the whole disposition of all events is from the Lord. O I heartily wish you and yours health, especially that our souls may prosper. The Lord fit and prepare me and us all for our great

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became a great center of population. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became a great center of population. The third was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became a great center of population. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became a great center of population. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became a great center of population. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became a great center of population. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1871. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became a great center of population. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1876. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became a great center of population. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1878. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became a great center of population. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1880. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became a great center of population.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859 led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859 led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860 led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Montana in 1862 led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869 led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Utah in 1871 led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Arizona in 1876 led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1878 led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became a great center of population. The discovery of gold in Texas in 1880 led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became a great center of population.



and last change. The Indians have killed 30 men that were straggling from their duty. They are strangers to me. Our people are generally in health. Mr. Sayer presents his love to his wife, with the rest of our people to theirs. We landed at Cape Breton April 30th. The French came furiously to the water side, and fired on us to annoy our landing, but through the goodness of God our enemies fled before us. Some Frenchmen were killed and some taken. The second day of May we took possession of the Grand Battery, which is an exceeding strong fortress. I have not time to enlarge but desire to commit myself into the hands of him that judgeth righteously. Desiring an interest in your prayers is what offers from your affectionate, tender, and loving husband, till God by death shall separate us.

JOHN STORER.

Pray write to me by all opportunity.

A line from Rev. Mr. Jefferds might be agreeable to me."

It would not well consist with the object of a town history to attempt here a recital of all the proceedings of Pepperell in the prosecution of the siege. Let it suffice to say, that after the surrender of the grand battery, and its possession taken by our forces, he pushed forward toward the city, his army being inspired with an ardor and intrepidity almost incredible. The labor performed, the difficulties surmounted, the hardships suffered, could only be understood by those who were the immediate actors in these operations. Every night, for fourteen days in succession, were the troops engaged in dragging their heavy artillery and necessary munitions through bogs and morasses to the spots selected for batteries. Day and night they were almost continually enveloped in fogs, exposed to all the adverse influences of this northerly climate, at this early season of the year, wet, chilled, and exhausted by their arduous labor, yet their valor was not diminished, their perseverance checked, or their enthusiasm subdued; but onward was ever the word.

Fifty days and nights were spent in this most exhausting struggle. To many of these brave men its incessant labors, carried on under intense excitement, wrought out a sad issue. But the stronghold was finally overcome. All their toils and sufferings met with full compensation in the glorious result. The city capitulated. As they entered it, they were filled with wonder at the strength of its fortifications, and still more with surprise that it should have been sur-





rendered. Pepperell said, "such ruins were never seen before. It was the goodness of God alone that brought about the result. The Almighty, of a truth, has been with us."

All their labors and struggles being now ended, Gen. Pepperell prepared a dinner for Gen. Waldo and the naval and land officers associated with him in the enterprise. That distinguished minister, the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, went down with Capt. Rouse as chaplain of the army. Mr. Moody was generally long in his prayers and proportionally long in his supplications at the table. His friends were anxious lest Gen. Waldo and the officers should be out of patience with the expected unreasonable length of his petition for God's blessing on the bounties of the table, under the circumstances in which they now surrounded it; but none dared to suggest to him the expediency of brevity. To the gratification of all, he addressed the Almighty briefly: "Good Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it as the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion for the sake of Christ Jesus, our Lord. Amen."

Perhaps no event in the history of this nation has produced such universal joy as did the capture of Louisburg. Such long continued and wicked aggressions had been committed by the French, or through their instigation, on our territories, fisheries, and property, and also on the persons of the people, that every man felt that he had been personally injured, and thus a spirit of revenge, in some measure, came to the aid of a noble patriotism.

Prayers were put up in all our churches continually that God's blessing might attend this expedition. The ministers of this neighborhood assembled together for fasting, at York, on the day of the capitulation, and for intercession with the God of armies that his blessing might attend it. Rev. Joseph Moody, son of the chaplain, led their supplications in a prayer of two hours in length, and after having addressed many arguments to the Almighty for the reduction of the city, in the midst of his earnest devotions he exclaimed, "It is done. It is delivered into our hands." He then went on blessing God for his wonderful mercies to us in thus prospering this great undertaking of these then feeble colonies. On the return of the soldiers it appeared that this remarkable exclamation was uttered at the same hour with the completion of the capitulation. Of the facts



here stated we suppose there is no doubt. The explanation we leave to the reader.

Letters were addressed to Gen. Pepperell by distinguished men in the ministry and other professions, congratulating him on the success of the great enterprise. Dr. Chauncy said there was not a house in Boston, "in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through the windows, and the night was made joyful by bonfires, and that there was not a man in the country but would heartily join in thanksgiving to God for his appearance in our behalf." The following letter of Rev. Mr. Jefferds to Colonel Storer, who had particular charge of the men from Wells, shows the belief which Christians of that day had that this wonderful victory, the result of all their labors and perils, was reached through the special interposition of the overruling Providence. The letter is long, but we think it worthy of the space which it occupies.

"Wells, Sept. 16, 1745.

DEAR SIR. I should not have delayed the congratulating you upon the reduction of Cape Breton, nor the acknowledging my receipt of your favors to me from Louisburg, dated June 22d and June 30th, unto this day, as I have done, had not a fond Expectation of seeing you here from Week to Week prevailed with me to think my writing to you there would have been fruitless. But having seen my mistake, and to amend it as well as I can, I embrace this opportunity to express my joynt Praises & Thansgivings with you unto God for the marvellous things which he has herein done by and for you and for us, whose right Hand and holy Arm hath gotten him the Victory. Here's a new song put into our Mouth, a Song of Praise to the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the People willingly offered themselves. We Bless God for what he has done, and acknowledge he has laid us under singular Obligation of Gratitude and Thankfulness to those he has been pleased to honour by improving them as happy Instruments in this truly great and glorious work. Our hearts should be, and I trust are, carried out in Esteem & Love, especially toward the Governors or Rulers of our New English Israel that offered themselves willingly among the People. O that we may cleave to the LORD our GOD, and take good Heed to ourselves that we love him and serve him, and may he confirm his work, and satisfy our Longing Souls in your Safe and Speedy Return unto us.





I take it as special favour that in the midst of all your Triumphs you was pleased to remember me; to take so much Notice of the few Lines I sent you, and give yourself the Trouble of writing me once and again. I thank you, S<sup>r</sup>, for the Particular Acc<sup>t</sup> you was pleased to give me of the strong but conquered City.

Your aged holy mothers are still living and in their common State of Health, as are also the rest of your family. Your pious Consort, though heavily bowed down under the Cares and Troubles of your long Absence, and filled w<sup>th</sup> Grief and Sorrows under the unexpected continuance of it, yet she bears it all with an exemplary Patience and sweet serenity of mind. Your Eldest Son keeps our School; your second looks after your Husbandry & other affairs. Your eldest Daughter is at Boston, waiting for your arrival and to accompany you here. Your two youngest Daughters are at home, longing to see you, and little Sam'l is ready to jump and fly into your Arms. I presume you have rec<sup>d</sup> the mournful News of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll. Wheelright's Decease, of your Hon<sup>d</sup> Aunt Littlefield. Besides which, there has but one grown Person dyed among us, Samuel Littlefield's Wife of Merryland, and not so much as a Child belonging to any of our friends that are with you.

Be pleased, S<sup>r</sup>, to present my Duty to his Excellency our Cap. General, for whose wise, just, and easie, happy administration Thanks are continually offered up unto God by a grateful Province, with their earnest Prayers for the long continuance and further Prosperity of it, and to his Hon<sup>r</sup> our Lieut<sup>t</sup> General, the merits of whose Valour and Conduct will not be forgotten by an obliged People, but conveyed down to late Posterity with all suitable Tokens of Respect. Please to give all proper Regards to all friends, and especially my hearty Love to those of my particular charge that are yet at Louisburg.

And now, S<sup>r</sup>, That the happy Day may be hastened when I shall see you face to face, and hear you rehearse the Righteous Acts of the LORD, and goe in company with you to his house, and there enjoy an holy fellowship with you, is the constant earnest Desire and ferv<sup>t</sup> Prayer of

To Col. John Storer, Esq.,  
at Louisburg

Your faithful and affectionate Pastor  
and Dutiful humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
SAM<sup>l</sup> JEFFERDS."



While the naval and land officers were so filled with joy at the sudden successful termination of all their anxieties and labors, the soldiers were thrilled to enthusiasm that their wearisome days and nights were ended by such a glorious consummation. Their hearts were buoyant with the inspirations of the grand victory, and the officers could not interfere to check the developments of their raptures in any way in which their impulses might direct. Though they were in an enemy's city, and had none of their countrywomen to join with them, yet somehow or other, we think, they extemporized a dancing assembly. Pumps, which in those days were used for no other purpose than the frolic and the dance, were purchased by many of the soldiers. The company of Capt. Perkins, of Arundel, under whom were several men from Wells, seem to have been most prominent in this pastime. They felt that this was one of the occasions on which it might be truly said, it is "a time to dance."

But the army was in a sad condition after its brilliant success. More than fifteen hundred were sick at one time. The fogs which constantly hung over the island and the continual exposures and hardships which they endured had, undoubtedly, their share in bringing about this unfortunate state of the soldiers. As is said in the letter of Mr. Jeffers, wives and friends were waiting with anxious longings for their return. But from various causes, many of them were detained there a long time; some more than a year. Sickness was, we suppose, one of the leading causes. A letter from a lady of Wells to her daughter in Boston, dated Sept. 30, 1745, says, "It is a sickly and dying time at Cape Breton. Dr. Bulman is dead and buried." Dr. Bulman, though living in York, was accustomed to practice much in the town of Wells. Hence his loss was deeply felt by many here, and therefore we cannot forbear to insert a letter from his wife, written a few months previous. It shows much of the spirit and character of the correspondence of this period, and of the views which the religious portion of community had of this enterprise.

It is addressed, "For Alexander Bulman, Esq., one of the Surgeons of his Majesties Forces at Cape Breton, Under the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Pepperell Esq. & General."

"York June 5 1745. My Dear Husband. Last Sabath Day, just as I was Steping out of my Door to go up to the house of God for





the after noon Service your letter Came to hand, which gives the pleasing account of your health and preservation in the midst of sickness & Danger & that our friends & neighbors hitherto are preserved, save 2—thanks be to God for a renewed occasion to tread his Courts with joy and praise—oh may the high praises of God Dwell upon my tongue for the wonderful Displays of Divine power in providence and Grace to the children of men & to you in particular. I was in hopes Ear this time the important affair was over—but I find you are yet without the City walls.

but it is enough that the Governor of the Universe knows best when to Lead you into the Strong Holds of your Enemyes, blessed be his name for hopes of victory & success—oh may it be in such a way & manner as that God may have all the Glory.

the time of your absence Semes very Long & tedious to me and I often hope and wish for your return, but I submit that with all my concerns of life in to the Government of a Holy & wise God, who knows best how to dispose of me & mine. O may I never find my will opposed to the will of the Blessed God, who I trust through the riches of free grace is my father & my friend.

& who would not trust a friend that is infinite in wisdom & power justice Goodness & truth. O the immutability of God. He changeth not neither is weary. Here I could dwell and ever loose myself in contemplating on the Divine perfections, but must pass on & say, in the Evening I saw Letters of a later Date than yours, one of which was Jonathan Saywards which gave an account of a french fleet's coming in upon you when you were warmly engaged in attacks on the City and had just made entrance, but were obliged to turn about and face the Enemy from another quarter—what means this—but let us stand still and perhaps we may see the Glory of God as our fathers have on ancient Date. truly his ways are in the Deep, but methinks I see something of his footsteps in Giving previous notess by sending in a small vessel, which fell into your hands, which gave time for preparation to salute there Champion which here was Done in a very warm manner, which soon brought the Centel man to Good terms—and now there Goliah is slain. I fancy the rest will fall an Easy prey. Doubtless the General and all the officers will set up there banners in the name of the Lord & say hitherto the Lord helped us. O may the Captain of the Lords hosts still go before the General & Direct him in all Enterprises, and at Length Give





him a Compleat victory & return you all in safety with joy and praise. all did I say, alas! I do not Expect to se all the faces of my friends again. I hear some are allready Gone to Eternity & others sick, one of which is my Dear Brother, if he is in the Land of the Living Give my kind Love to him if I never am to se his face here I hope to meet him in the hapey regions above. But our prayers to God is that he may be raised and returned to his friends again if it is his blessed will, my Dear Mother is greatly concerned about him, sends her Love—this Evening your Letter of May<sup>th</sup> 21 came to hand. you tell me you have received all of my letters. there is one more I sent with Col Donnel which went in the same vessel. I greatly rejoyced to hear of your health, & it would be an addison thereto if I could hear of your coming home speedily. I hope in your next I shall hear something of that nature—we are all in prety Good helth through Divine Goodness. Mrs. Moodey Gives her service to you. She dined with me this Day. She desires youd remember her to Mr Moody. Lavitts wife Gives her Love to her husband. She has received his letter, sends much respect to you—our people begin to be much afraid of the indins whether there is any reason for it I cannot say. But to be sure we are in a Defenceless posture. Give my proper regards to your Good General & our Revd and Dear Pasture & Love and service to all friends & neighbors. I have not had oppertunity to Do any of your messages to the General's Lady for I have never seen her since the fleet left boston. your son gives his Duty But says he cannot write.

I am my Dear with much Love your

I am much concerned for faithful Spous till Death

the poor women & children MARY BULMAN.

in the City. the Lord pitye them in their Distress O that the calamitous time was over—pray give me a perticuler account as possible in your next. your son has altered his mind and is now writing.”

In the fall of this year, 1745, most of the army were brought home to the great rejoicing of the friends. But there were wounded spirits in Wells, which could find no healing balm in these happy occasions. Fathers and sons had not come back to their homes. There were many broken hearts; how many, we know not. Enoch Davis, William Curtis, Joshua Kimball, Matthew Robinson, James Littlefield and James Wilson had died at Cape Breton. John McDaniel, John



Deane, John Canaway, John Bagshaw, James Read, Benjamin Jellison, Joseph Boston, Shebuel Boston and Thomas Boston were left there. We think most of them afterward reached their homes. Col. Storer returned before winter.

The soldiers on this expedition received a proportional part of the plunder of Louisburg. Those in Wells had about twenty-eight dollars each. Jonathan Sayward of York was captain of one of the transports, and brought home some rich china ware; two very large candlesticks, also a pair of andirons, and brass tongs, which are now in a good state of preservation in the possession of his descendants, the Misses Barrell of that place.

While so many were absent at Louisburg, care was taken by the government to guard against any sudden irruption of the Indians on the seacoast towns. In August thirty soldiers were stationed at Wells, and the inhabitants made other preparations for their security. The Indians had begun their ravages on some of the eastern villages, and war was declared against them. Great pains were taken to spread among them the news of the success of the Louisburg armament. But the information did not produce the effect hoped for. The French influence from Canada was brought to bear upon them. Whether to terrify the tribes from further aggressions, or as a reward for the courage of those who would volunteer for the public service, we cannot determine; but large bounties were offered for Indian scalps, even as high as £400. Villages were attacked by them all along the coasts. Scouts were ordered from Berwick eastward through the Province. Though the population of the towns had much increased by a peace of twenty years, great fear seized upon the people. The Indians had been seen in several places. Smith in his journal says, there were continual alarms on account of them. Precautions were taken by the town for the protection of Mr. Jeffers and his family. A meeting had been held March 25, 1745, to take measures to build him a block-house, and to repair the old ministerial fort. But this action was not satisfactory; and afterward, when the war was upon them, they voted that "there be a good frame fort built, planked and finished, with two good Bocks, if needful, about the ministerial house, with all speed," so that the family would not be obliged to leave their house for safety. Great care was generally exercised for the minister. Much reliance was placed on his prayers and counsel. The fort was occupied by others fre-





quently in times of war; more especially when the larger garrisons became insufficient for the refuge of all the people.

The long interval since the Lovewell war had evidently made the people more timid. Children had grown up, and had often heard the recital from their parents, of the frightful atrocities which marked the savage incursions upon the towns. Though better prepared for defense, there seems to have been less courage among the inhabitants than in former years, when the hardships of life were more severe upon them. John Wheelright, upon whom they had relied as their bulwark of defense, had just died. Some of their best men were yet at Cape Breton. Many families were under deep affliction from the loss of husbands and sons; and there was a prospect of much suffering from a want of the necessities of life. Prices of articles of food had rapidly advanced. In 1746, corn was twenty-five shillings a bushel; flour about twenty dollars a hundred pounds. This was indeed in the time of a depreciated currency; but many families had no means of acquiring it. In addition to these afflictions Col. Storer, in the year following, received notice from Col. Moulton that a French fleet was on the coast, and that they might land here at any moment; and all able bodied men in the military company were required to be furnished with arms and ammunition, and to be ready to march, at a moment's warning, to any place which might be attacked; that "no one must go half a mile from his house without his gun, and every man must carry his gun when he goes to public worship, and a strict watch must be kept." These orders, we suppose, added to the general panic. Men and women feared to go abroad.

An attack, though unsuccessful, having once been made on Annapolis, it was feared that this French fleet might make a second attempt to subdue it, and measures were taken to furnish for it sufficient protection. Troops were sent from the West for that purpose. Some of these were from Wells, and some from Arundel. The vessel on which the Wells and Arundel troops were being transported was cast away on Mount Desert, in a snow storm. The weather was very severe, and seventy or eighty of the passengers perished. John Wakefield, jr., Benjamin Cousens, Joseph Wormwood and Hilton Day were saved. Whether any others belonging to Wells were saved we are unable to state. The survivors underwent fearful hardship and suffering. There was no house on the island at that time, and



they had no means of transportation from it. Though almost exhausted by hardships and deprivation, hope and resolution did not fail them. They went to work and built a boat out of such material as they could get; in the meantime, by the aid of a gun and a little ammunition saved from the wreck, killing a few fowl, sufficient to preserve life, a part of their number embarked in this frail boat and arrived safely at Townsend, where aid was obtained, and a boat was sent to the island for those left behind.

Ebenezer Storer and Seth Storer, sons of the patriotic Joseph Storer; so efficient in previous wars in the defence of the people, had come from Boston as far as Kittery, for the purpose of visiting their aged mother; but the terrors which hung over the way to Wells were too appalling, and they returned to Boston. In a letter to her afterward, they say they had heard of the mischief done by the Indians at Wells the week before. What this mischief was we have been unable to ascertain. Neither have we learned of any attacks upon the inhabitants. General Pepperell had occasion to go from Kittery to Falmouth, and Col. Moulton requested Col. Storer to muster out as many horsemen as he could to guard him to Scarborough. Although the Indians were now scattered all over the Province, yet, as the population had so much increased, they were cautious in their attacks on the towns. The mischief alluded to by the Storers, is all that we know to have been done at this time.

In April, 1747, they made attacks in Brunswick, Falmouth, Scarborough and Saco, killing several and carrying away captives. An attempt was made to surprise the settlers at the village of Sergeant Larrabee, which might have been successful had it not been for the fidelity and vigilance of his dog. All the working men, fifteen in number, had met together for the purpose of ploughing his land by the road, above the house. The woods on the eastern side came out within a rod or two of the land where they were at work. They had left their guns at a distance from them. The dog ran toward the woods and began to bark. He kept up a continual rushing back and forth, barking all the while, until the Sergeant was satisfied that something unusual was on foot in the woods; and suspecting that it might be the Indians, ordered the men to leave their work and run for the garrison. On looking back they discovered a large number of Indians just appearing above the hill on the eastern side of the road, where they had been watching their opportunity to cut off





their retreat. The savages after looking at the fugitives a few moments, and seeing that they were beyond their reach, disappointed of their prey, fell back behind the hill from which they came; and not daring to tarry in the neighborhood, hastened off to the lower part of Biddeford, where, on the same day, they killed two men of the name of Elliot, and carried away captive a third, named Murch.

We have spoken before of the cowardliness of these natives. With a little courage they might have rushed from their lurking place, and before the people were aware of any danger, killed or captured at least a portion of them. Another instance, exhibiting this cowardly trait of Indian character, may here be related. Mr. John Butland, one of the dwellers at Larrabee village, and a substantial man in those days, went out at the usual hour after his cows, one of which wore a bell. Generally the cows had been found within a short distance from his house. But at this time they were not at their usual feeding place. The Indians, planning for his capture, had driven them a considerable distance from their accustomed ground. Not knowing that any of the savages were in the neighborhood, the thought did not occur to him of any stratagem in this unusual circumstance. He had his gun with him, as was the invariable rule when going out from the house. He continued his pursuit until he heard the bell. He directed his steps to the point from whence the sound seemed to come. Drawing nearer, he thought the bell gave an unusual sound; but he imagined the cow had fallen into some difficulty, and hastened onward to extricate her. But as the ringing was not constant, he passed beyond the place from whence the sound issued. Hearing it again he turned round, but saw nothing of the cows. He could not account for the mystery. He looked again and again, and though the ringing of the bell continued, he could discover no one of the cows. There was nothing to obstruct his vision, a few bushes only intervening. At last the thought suddenly came over him that the ringing was by a human hand; that the Indians had taken it from his cow, and were thus endeavoring to decoy him to the spot. They had contrived so to delude him as to get between him and his house. He had now no chance to return, and knew not how many were in ambush. The trunk of a very large tree was lying directly before him, the inside of which had so wasted away by age that an ordinary sized man, without serious inconvenience could crowd himself into it. There was no other alternative, as he thought,





but to crawl into this log, and accordingly he pressed himself into it, keeping his gun before him. In our judgment such a refuge was the last which a rational man should have sought. How he expected security in such a position we cannot comprehend. The Indians, being five in number, finding that he had settled down out of sight, were very soon by the log, where he had disappeared. Not discovering him anywhere in the vicinity, and no obstruction limiting their view, they were assured he was within the log, but which way his gun pointed they could not tell, and no one dared to look into it or go to either end. They pounded upon it with sticks of wood—tried to turn it over; walked on it from one end to the other. They might, with ease, have thrust in a pole, or fired into it. But their hands would have been exposed to his fire. So fearful were they of wounds that they had not courage, and so little ingenuity that they had not skill enough to devise any mode of killing him, or expelling him from his hiding place. They knew he could not escape from them. They were working upon the log and endeavoring to stave it in, when Mr. Butland's family, knowing that he had been gone far beyond the usual time, fired the alarm guns (three in immediate succession). Upon this the Indians immediately ran, leaving Butland unharmed. It is to this cowardice, and almost entire want of invention or contrivance, that we are to ascribe the fact that so small a portion of the inhabitants fell into the hands of the Indians. The alarm guns of which we have just spoken, were well understood all over the Province. The men were obliged to be away from their houses working in the field, or otherwise employed, and some signal was necessary to warn them of danger at home, or others of their own danger while absent. The garrisons were many and not at a great distance apart; and thus the guns fired at one place would be immediately repeated at the next; and so the news of danger would in a few minutes be spread a great distance.

Although the townsmen, during this war, lived in continual fear of Indian assaults, but very little injury is known to have been done. The wife of Richard Walker was killed April 16, 1747. She was seized by them during her husband's absence at the Great Falls, where he was at work sawing in the mill. They intended to surprise and capture him. They took his wife with them and traveled in that direction, hoping there to discover him, and so conceal themselves as to fall suddenly upon him when away from his gun. But



in this they were disappointed ; not finding him at the mill, vexed at this defeat of their calculations, they set fire to the mill, which was speedily consumed. On their route they killed three horses. They proceeded with Mrs. Walker until they reached Taylor's Hill, a little above the house of Charles Hill, in Lyman. She resolved that she would go no further with them ; choosing rather to die than to undergo the cruelties which she felt would be inflicted upon her, and which would only be followed by her murder in the end. Finding her such an obstacle to their progress, she was tied to an oak tree, murdered and scalped. The stump of this tree on the eastern side of the road, half way up the hill, remained there till within the present century.

The next year, 1748, the house of the widow Stuart was burnt. She and her child disappeared, and no doubt then existed that they had been carried away and murdered by the Indians after they had fired the house.

An attempt was once made to surprise the Larrabee garrison. So well had this been prepared, and the inmates so effectually secured, that in times of danger it had become the place of general resort. At times, nearly all the inhabitants of what is now Kennebunk were gathered within its walls. At a time when the fears of invasion were in some measure allayed, and but few were in the garrison, the Indians planned an attack upon it. The opportunity of a dark, stormy night was taken for this purpose. Wawa, the chief, was fully acquainted with every part of the garrison, and how to effect an entrance. Before approaching it, where the quick eye of the sergeant might discover them, he waited for the darkness of night. A cart had been left a few feet from the wall. The Indians, as soon as it was dark, crept up and lay down under it. Here they watched, waiting until all had retired to rest, when they hoped to gain access by climbing the walls. But Sergeant Larrabee was not the man to suffer himself and others under his care, to be entrapped by any stratagem which could be devised by these ignorant savages. Though everywhere in the vicinity quiet prevailed, and people were at comparative ease in many of their homes, he was ever on the lookout. This was a very dark night, well suited to Indian warfare, and he was therefore the more careful in his observations. As his eye rested upon the cart, very near the walls, it reported to him a darkness of different shades. He was satisfied that there was some-





thing under it not entirely atmospherical. Whatever it was, it had come with the night, and it looked like bipeds, he determined to test its character by the use of his large gun. He loaded it heavily with buck shot, stationed himself in the flanker, and taking another look to satisfy himself that his suspicions were well grounded, he discharged his faithful gun into the darkness doubly and suspiciously visible under the cart. With the flash of the gun the vision changed, and the area between the wheels was cleared. The next morning revealed the fact that the wary eye of the sergeant had not been deceived, neither was the shot without effect. Blood was found about the cart and in many places near by. When the Indians came in after the war, Wawa himself acknowledged that he received there such an effectual admonition of the danger of any attempt to surprise the garrison that he concluded it not worth while to risk it again.

Died Aug. 13, 1745, COL. JOHN WHEELRIGHT, son of Samuel. He was born of parents whose constitutions had been formed by continual contact with the hardships attendant upon frontier life, and educated under influences which trained both mind and body for any warfare. His grandfather, though a minister of the gospel, was not remarkable for his peace propensities. In his composition there was much of that muscular Christianity which the grandson inherited. He was a man of war and a host within himself, and was therefore just the man for the times, sent into the world by Providence to assist in protecting the new settlements against the assaults of the French and Indians, and before the close of his life he came to be regarded as the bulwark of Maine against the attacks of its enemies.

He was town clerk forty years, also one of the selectmen. Several years he kept a public house. He was judge of the court of common pleas, judge of probate, and one of the councilors of the Province. In early manhood he was commissioned as a lieutenant of the militia, afterward as a captain, major, and colonel. He was in the service as an officer under Major Convers; went to Pemaquid and Sheepscot, thence to Trebonit, and was afterward stationed at Fort Mary on Saco river. Government relied upon him with great confidence. He was endowed with a brave and noble spirit, awake to all the interests of the Province as well as to those of the town,



and prepared for any sacrifice which might become necessary for the common cause. Two companies, under the command of Captains Cutter and Miller, were sent into Maine for operations in the eastern part of the Province. These companies he allowed to take possession of his house and use it for all purposes. The house, though a large one, did not answer their full purposes, and it was taken down by them with the intention of rebuilding; but being called away and stationed at another place, it was left prostrate, and no attempt at its restoration was ever made by government, or remuneration offered for its destruction. The war with the Indians was renewed in 1704, and he was left to rebuild his garrison house at his own cost. This house, we think, was the same, or stood on the same site, where the late Noah M. Littlefield lived. This appropriation of his property by the government did not move him from his devotion to the public service. His patriotism was superior to all personal interests.

Being a judicious and energetic man, his aid was sought on all occasions by the people. When a young man he acquired the special friendship of Col. Church, from the confidence which he had in his fidelity to all authority which was committed to him, and when the people of Wells were shut up in the garrisons and were suffering much from the necessities of their condition, all means of obtaining supplies being cut off, Col. Church, at the request of Wheelright, obtained a contribution from all the churches in the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol for their benefit. These supplies were sent to Wheelright, Storer, and John Littlefield, to be appropriated as they should judge expedient.

He died Aug. 13, 1745, aged 81. In his will, dated April 11, 1739, he says, "I commend my soul to God, my Creator, hoping for pardon of all my sins and everlasting salvation through the alone merits of Jesus Christ." He gives his wife Mary four or five acres at Little river, with the saw-mill and stream owned with John Wells, his household goods, stock of cattle of all kinds, negro or mulatto servants, money, etc.; legacies to his daughters, Mary Plaistead, Elizabeth Neumarch, Mary Moody, and Sarah Jefferds; devises to his sons, John, Samuel, Jeremiah, Nathaniel; also to his "daughter Esther Wheelright, if living in Canada, whom (he says) I have not heard from these many years, and hath been absent more than thirty years."



## CHAPTER XXVI.

EFFORT TO INAUGURATE A SECOND PARISH—MEETING-HOUSE BUILT AT THE LANDING—INCORPORATION OF THE "SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN WELLS"—INVITATION TO REV. DANIEL LITTLE—HIS REPLY—FAST APPOINTED—CHURCH CONSECRATED—THE COVENANT AND LIST OF MEMBERS SUBSCRIBING—ORDINATION OF MR. LITTLE—BAPTISMAL COVENANT—COVENANT FOR FULL COMMUNION—FEMALE MEMBERS ADMITTED—ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES—CONTRIBUTION IN AID OF BOSTON—LOCATION OF CERTAIN DWELLING HOUSES—FIRST RETAIL STORE IN KENNEBUNK—EXTRACTS FROM THE TAX LISTS OF THE NEW PARISH—TAXES—VALUATION OF WELLS—SLAVERY IN WELLS—OLD TOM.

THE settlement in the eastern part of the town had so far advanced, that the people, feeling seriously the inconvenience of attending public worship at the meeting-house, began to talk of having the gospel preached nearer home. During the winter season, most of the time, they were unable to go there with their families. All travel was on horseback. There were yet no sleighs for winter or carriages for summer. We can well understand, therefore, how irksome was the requirement that they should sustain public worship, of which they could have no direct benefit. Having this feeling, in 1743, those living in Kennebunk petitioned to the town that a portion of the money raised for the support of the ministry might be allowed to them, or that they might be set off as a distinct precinct. It was voted that thirty pounds should be allowed them, but no consent could be given to a separation. The next year they petitioned for aid in building a meeting-house and for an allowance toward the maintainance of public worship; but no heed was given to the petition. The year following, the war with the French calling away so many, no exertions were made toward the erection of a meeting-house. The town voted to allow them twenty pounds toward the support of a minister in the winter season. The next year, in November, they petitioned for a special town meeting "to see if the





town will allow them and the other inhabitants living between Kennebunk & Mousam rivers anything towards helping them support the gospel," and secondly, "to set them off to join with a part of Arundel as a parish, in order to settle the gospel among them, they being at a great distance from the public worship, the parish to begin at the mouth of Mousam river and to run northwest to the head of the town." The town would take no step toward a division, but voted to allow them twenty pounds as before. So also in 1747. In 1748, they again petitioned for aid in building a meeting-house, and if the town would contribute nothing for that object, they asked that they might have liberty to build one themselves; but all the assistance which could be obtained was the allowance of fifty pounds. Such was the depreciation of the currency, that this was but little encouragement. The next year, 1749, the town allowed them sixty pounds toward paying for preaching during the previous winter, but still would listen to no argument tending to division. Wearied with applying to the town, and outvoted on every question favorable to their object, they took the matter into their own hands, built their meeting-house with such means as they had, and then presented their petition to the great and general court. Previously to this, meetings were holden at the house of John Wakefield, just above the large Lord house. The erection of the church was a heavy burden upon them. It probably cost more than all the personal property which they had. James Hubbard was the architect. We suppose almost every one else paid his part by his personal labor or lumber. But little otherwise was required. All the nails were wrought at the anvil. Cut nails were then unknown here. The building stood on the site of the house heretofore owned by Elizabeth Kilham, next below Adam McCulloch's. It was two storied, and thirty feet long, the side of the building fronting the road, as was customary in that day. Placing the end on the street is a modification of the present century. It was then only so far completed as to shelter the worshipers from the inclement weather. It was not clapboarded, and the upper story was not glazed. There were frames for five windows above and four below, two on each side of the porch, which was erected on the front. The pulpit was not built till two years afterward, when also the deacon's seat and communion table were prepared. The whole would seem to afford very poor accommodations during the winter season, at which time only meet-



ings were holden in it. A fire in the church was then unheard of; but the fires of the spirit were continually burning within, and the self-satisfaction in having, by their own efforts, made even this poor provision for the worship of God, animated and comforted their hearts. And besides, the effeminacy of modern times had not yet become an element of the human constitution. Men, women, and children were inured to the rigors of a northern wintry climate. Children were sometimes carried to the house of God for baptism on the day on which they were born. The distance to the old church, seven miles from their homes, traveled on foot or on horseback, had helped much to invigorate the material body, while the instructions of Mr. Jefferds, that they had "a heaven or a hell to obtain," waked up all the energies of the soul to battle against any obstacles to the acquisition of the former. The inspirations of hope, and sometimes those of fear, will infuse no small degree of warmth through the system.

The town, being notified of the petition to set off the inhabitants at Kennebunk into a separate parish or precinct, voted to oppose the division, and Samuel Wheelright was chosen agent for that purpose. At the session of the legislature that year the respondents effected a delay until next year, 1750; but the excitement was in no degree allayed, and another meeting was called in May, when, it being fully understood that the measure could no longer be defeated, it was voted "that the inhabitants living between Kennebunk and Mousam rivers, with the lands and estates of every kind between said Kennebunk and Mousam, to the head of the township, be and are set off as a distinct parish, in order to settle the gospel among them." The doings of the town were confirmed by the great and general court, and on the fourteenth day of June, 1750, the people inhabiting Kennebunk were incorporated as a religious society, by the name of the "Second Congregational Society in Wells."

The following were the petitioners for the incorporation, and, we think, were all the taxable inhabitants:

|                   |                     |                        |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| John Mitchell,    | Samuel Emons,       | Richard Thompson,      |
| Ichabod Cousins,  | Benj. Wormwood,     | John Wakefield, jr.,   |
| Jesse Towne,      | Jedediah Wakefield, | John Gillpatrick, jr., |
| James Wakefield,  | John Wakefield,     | Samuel Shackley,       |
| Stephen Larrabee, | Richard Boothby,    | Phillip Brown,         |





|                      |                    |                     |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Richard Kimball,     | Nathaniel Kimball, | Samuel Littlefield, |
| Nathaniel Wakefield, | Thomas Kimball,    | Joseph Towne,       |
| John Gillpatrick,    | John Maddox,       | John Webber,        |
| John Butland,        | Thomas Cousins,    | John Burke,         |
| John Freas,          | Benjamin Cousins,  | Stephen Webber,     |
| Joseph Wormwood,     | Joseph Cousins,    | Jonathan Webber.    |
| Stephen Titcomb,     | Thomas Towne,      |                     |

A meeting was called on the sixth day of August following, for the organization of the parish, by the choice of a clerk and a committee for calling parish meetings. John Mitchell was chosen for the former, and Nathaniel Kimball, Jesse Towne, James Wakefield, Richard Boothby, and John Gillpatrick for the latter.

At another meeting, on the twenty-fifth day of August, John Webber, Jesse Towne, and John Mitchell were chosen assessors, and Stephen Titcomb collector. It was also voted unanimously to give to Daniel Little an invitation to settle with them as minister of the society, and "for his encouragement to give him one hundred pounds for a settlement, and £53 6s. 8d. yearly for his lawful salary." John Wakefield, Richard Kimball, and John Mitchell were chosen a committee to receive Mr. Little's answer. At a subsequent meeting, in November, this committee were directed to supply the pulpit till the 10th of March. Mr. Little desired the proposals to be so far altered as that the £100 should be invested by the parish in a good tract of land, which request was acceded to. The parish also voted to supply him with firewood.

Mr. Little then gave the following answer to the call of the society:

"TO THE SECOND PARISH IN WELLS.

*Brethren and Beloved.*—It is some time since I received from you a call to settle in the gospel ministry, upon which I have considered and advised, and from the satisfaction I have had in observing the many signal tokens of the wise conduct and the various blessings of Divine Providence vouchsafed towards you as a people since you have attended public worship in a distinct congregation, particularly in the appearance of so happy a degree of charity and brotherly love, and especially the continuance of such a temper and disposition manifested by your late conduct and entire unanimity in an ef-



fer the most serious and the most important,—from these and many other considerations, I do (with a view to the honor of Christ, humbly relying upon the conduct and assistance of the Divine Spirit), with a ready and cheerful mind, accept your call, tho' with equal fear, being sensible of my many imperfections, and great unequalness to a work so sacred and important as the gospel ministry.

Now let me entreat you in your daily prayers for yourselves always to remember and commit me to the care and blessing of the great Head of the church for all assistance and success. And let me never cease bearing upon my mind with peculiar delight your best good and greatest happiness.

Thus wishing and praying, I am, with particular affection, your sincere soul friend and faithful servant in the cause of Christ.

WELLS, Jan'y 31, 1750-1.

DANIEL LITTLE."

On the receipt of this affirmative answer, a meeting was called to do what was "proper to be done as preparatory to the settlement of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, which we have now, through the Goodness of God, in Prospect." At this meeting Nathaniel Kimball, Stephen Larrabee, Jesse Towne, Richard Kimball and John Mitchell were chosen a committee to consult with Mr. Little as to the ordination, and as to a fast preparatory thereto, and for the embodying of a church.

By arrangement of the committee and vote of the parish, "the 14th of March following was appointed as a day of fasting and prayer previous to ordination, and withal for the candidates of a new church to be incorporated." Accordingly the churches in Wells, Arundel and Biddeford were invited. Mr. Morrill of Biddeford and Mr. Jefferds of Wells attended. Rev. Mr. Jefferds preached and prayed in the forenoon and Mr. Morrill in the afternoon. The service of consecrating a church was performed by Rev. Mr. Jefferds, the several members subscribing the following covenant:

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, sensibly acknowledging our unworthiness to be in, and inability to keep covenant with God as we ought, yet apprehending the call of God unto us to incorporate into a new church, and to seek the settlement of the ordinances of Christ according to Gospel institution; do, renouncing all confidence in ourselves, and relying on Jesus Christ for help, declare as followeth:



1st. That we professedly acknowledge ourselves engaged to the fear and service of the Only True God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, the High Priest, Prophet and King of his Church; under whose conduct we submit ourselves and on whom alone we wait for grace and glory, to whom we declare ourselves bound in an everlasting covenant, never to be broken.

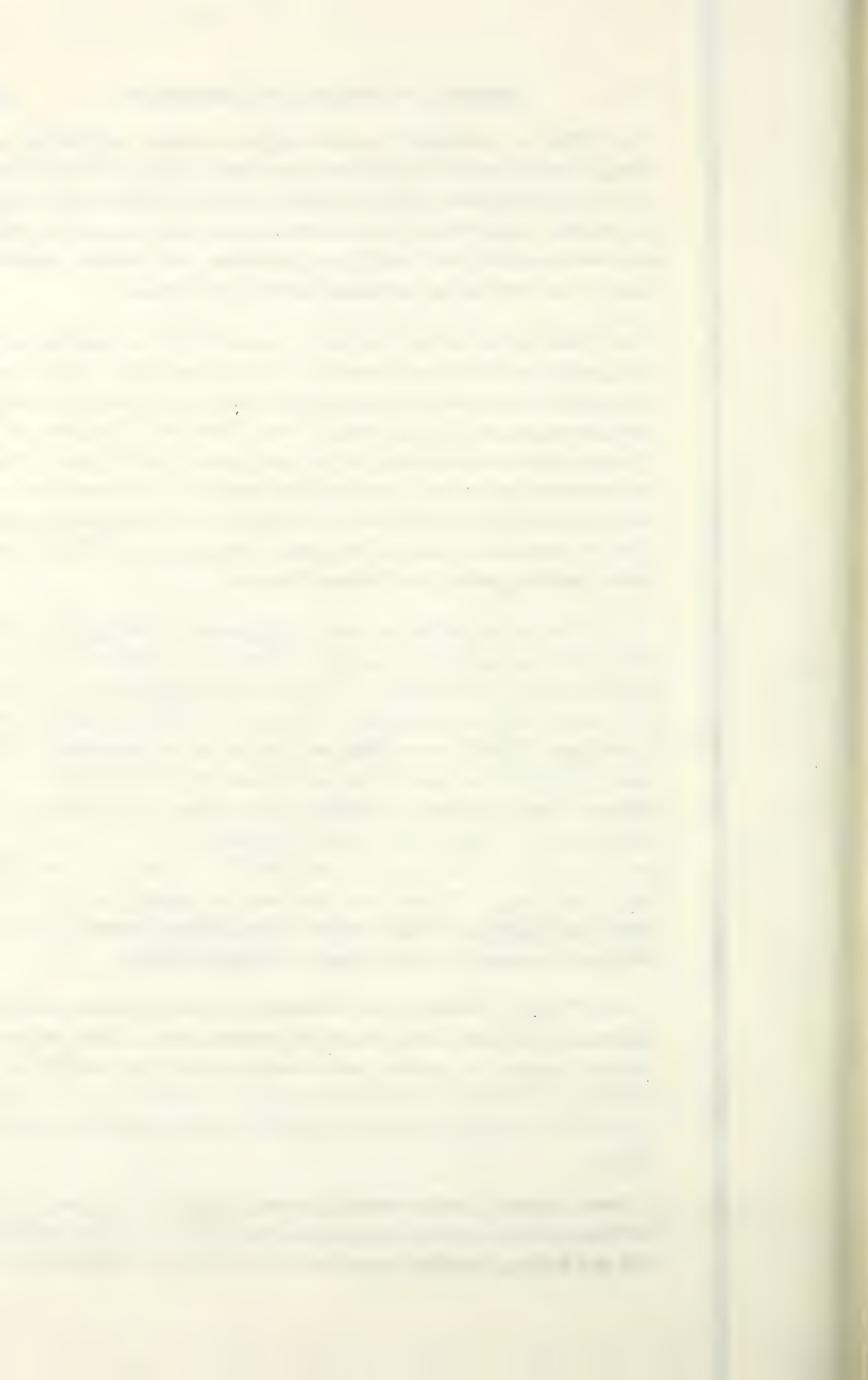
2d. That we are obliged to give up ourselves to one another in the Lord, and to cleave to one another as fellow members of one body for mutual edification, and to submit ourselves to all the holy administrations appointed by him who is the Head and Lawgiver of his Church, dispensed according to the directions of God's word (which we acknowledge to be the only rule of our faith and practice, and that in general as is explained in our well-known catechisms), and to give our attendance upon all the public ordinances of Christ's institution, walking orderly as becometh saints.

3d. That we are under covenant engagements to bring up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, acknowledging our infants to be included with us in the Gospel covenant, and to stand in covenant relation, according to Gospel rules, blessing God for such a privilege. Furthermore, that we are under indispensable obligations at all times to procure the settlement and continuance of the ordinances of Christ and the officers of his Church, according to the appointment of Jesus Christ, chief Shephard of his Flock, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, and that we are equally obliged to be careful and faithful for their maintainance, encouragement and comfort, and to carry it towards them as becometh Saints.

4th. Finally. Solemnly and sincerely professing ourselves to be a Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, do promise, by the help of grace, to walk together as persons under such vows of God ought to do, according to all those rules in the Gospel prescribed to such a society, so far as God hath revealed or shall reveal his mind to us in this respect.

Now the good Lord be merciful to us; and as he has put it into our hearts thus to devote ourselves to him, pity and pardon our frailties and failings, humble us out of all our carnal confidences, and





keep it forever upon our hearts to be faithful to himself and one another for his praise and our eternal comfort. Amen.

Daniel Little,

|                      |                     |                    |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Jesse Towne,         | James Wakefield,    | John Wakefield,    |
| Nathaniel Kimball,   | John Mitchell,      | Richard Boothby,   |
| Richard Kimball,     | John Gillpatrick,   | Stephen Larrabee,  |
| Thomas Kimball,      | Stephen Titcomb,    | Thomas Cousins,    |
| Joseph Wormwood,     | Samuel Shackley,    | Benjamin Wormwood, |
| Stephen Webber,      | Jedediah Wakefield, | Richard Thompson,  |
| John Wakefield, jr., | Benjamin Cousins."  |                    |

A church having thus been established, the 27th day of March was designated as the day for the ordination of Mr. Little, and the churches at Biddeford, Falmouth, Wells, and Scarboro were invited to aid on the occasion. The church, it will be remembered, stood on the site of the Kilham house, next below Mr. McCulloch's. It was in a poor condition for an ordination, being not half finished. Still the people had great satisfaction that they had a church, poor as it was, in which thereafter they were to have regular services on the Sabbath. The services on the occasion of the ordination were as follows: Rev. Mr. Morrill, of Biddeford, made the introductory prayer. Rev. Mr. Jeffers, of Wells, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Scarborough, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Falmouth, the Right Hand of Fellowship; Rev. Mr. Elvins, of Scarborough, offered the concluding prayer. None of these services were printed, and therefore we have no knowledge of their character.

At a meeting of the church in May, the following was agreed upon as the Baptismal Covenant:

"You (and each of you) professing a serious belief of the Christian Religion, as contained in the sacred Scriptures, which you acknowledge to be the only rule of your faith and practice, do now sincerely and very solemnly, give up yourself unto the glorious God, who is the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and receive as your God and portion, resolving by his help to conform your life unto the rules of that holy Religion, which the sacred Scriptures teach, as long as you live.

You give up yourself unto the Lord Jesus Christ as the head of his chosen People, in the covenant of grace, and receive him as your











